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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 16, November 1984

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USSR REPORT
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No. 16, November 1984

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU-Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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INFORMATION REPORT ON A CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

PM240907 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 84 (signed to press 29 Oct 84)
p 3

[Text] A regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on 23 October 1984. A major speech was made at the opening of the plenum by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum examined the issue of "The Long-Term Program for Land Reclamation and Enhancing the Efficiency of Use of Improved Land With the Aim of Steadfast Increase in the Country's Food Reserves." A report on this subject was given by Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Participating in the debate were U. K. Gusev, first secretary of the CPSU Saratov Oblkom; A. P. Lyashko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee; N. A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; N. N. Slyunknov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; N. D. Tereshchenko, chairman of the "Put k Kommunizmu" Kolkhoz in the Stepnovskiy Rayon, Stavropol Kray; S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Central Party Central Committee; N. F. Vasiliyev, minister of land reclamation and water resources of the USSR; G. P. Razumovskiy, first secretary of the Krasnodar Kraykom; V. P. Nikonov, minister of agriculture of the RSFSR; N. F. Aksenov, first secretary of the Altay Kraykom; and P. P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum adopted a decision on the issue discussed, which is being published in the press.

With this the plenum ended its work.

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SPEECH BY CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE GENERAL SECRETARY K. U. CHERNENKO AT THE 23 OCTOBER 1984 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

PM241041 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 84 (signed to press 29 Oct 84)
pp 4-11

[Text] Comrades:

Today we are examining a question which has direct bearing on what constitutes the supreme goal of the CPSU's activities--the steady raising of the Soviet people's living standards. The matters at issue are major additional measures aimed at solving the food problem on the basis of a consistent intensification of agricultural production and extensive land improvement.

As is known, at the May 1982 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee we collectively worked out and endorsed the country's Food Program. Merely 2 years have passed, but it can be said confidently that this has been a fruitful period.

1983 witnessed the biggest amount of farm produce ever in the country's history. This year, as well, pitted against extremely adverse weather conditions, with a terrible drought hitting many districts, the rural workers are waging a heroic struggle to make certain that the result will not be smaller. It is already clear today that the aggregate production of farm produce in 1983 and 1984 will be some 20,000 million rubles higher than the first 2 years of the five-year plan period.

The signs of changes in livestock farming are especially gratifying. The average annual milk output has grown by 7.4 million tons, that of meat by 1.4 million tons and that of eggs by 4.6 billion. The production of vegetables and fruits has gone up substantially. This has made it possible to increase the level of consumption of some valuable products, which has led also to improvement in the Soviet people's diet.

In short, there are successes in agricultural production and they are indubitable. Failing to mention them would be failing to pay tribute to the selfless and difficult work of the crop and livestock farmers. The intense organizing and political work of the party committees and of the local government and economic bodies in the countryside ought to be given its due. The tremendous contribution to developing agriculture made by the work

collectives in industry, construction and transport and the entire national economy also ought to be pointed out.

Of course, we are duty-bound to continue redoubling our efforts to increase agricultural production and creating the necessary conditions for a successful performance by all sectors of the agroindustrial complex.

The key problem, as before, is that of steadily expanding grain production. It is essential to ensure such rates of its growth as would make it possible to meet all the country's needs in the next few years.

The second pressing task is to consolidate the positive trends in animal husbandry and do everything possible to accelerate its development. We should first of all increase livestock productivity by securing qualitative improvements in its stock and decisively building up the feed base. To get more products from the same herd with efficient use of feed, labor and funds should be the guideline for developing animal husbandry.

Undoubtedly, the only right way to accomplish these key tasks is to intensify agricultural production in every way and shunt it over to industrial lines. Of course, we shall continue to increase capital investments in agriculture and to saturate it with machinery and other facilities. The main thing, however, both today and in the future, is to use all these resources so as to get the highest returns and concentrate them on sectors yielding the highest and fastest returns.

This approach has already ensured tangible results in industrial poultry farming, livestock fattening and the industrial growing of corn, sugar beets and other crops. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently approved measures to introduce intensive methods of growing winter and spring wheat, which should assure the country additionally millions of tons of grain. There should be advance along a broad front of this mainline of progress in all sectors of agricultural production.

Comrades, everything positive that has been achieved at this stage and everything we are yet to accomplish are connected in many ways with the measures being adopted towards the social transformation of the countryside. The party sees care for people, the provision of proper conditions for their work and everyday life and for the further flourishing of cultural life as the foundation of production successes. The Politburo pays and will continue to pay unflagging attention to these matters. Today we can say quite definitely that fundamental changes are taking place in the life of rural workers and that the appearance of our countryside is changing for the better.

Over the first 4 years of the five-year plan homes with a total floor space of 132 million square meters will have been built in the countryside, making it possible to improve the housing conditions of more than 10 million people. The scale of building schools, preschool child care establishments and public health and cultural facilities has widened and everyday services are being improved. The real incomes of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers are growing with every passing year and retail trade is fast on the increase.

Comrades, ponder these figures. According to data of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, out of every 100 families in the countryside today 85 families have TV sets, 87 have radio sets, 73 have refrigerators and some 60 families have washing machines. Almost every second rural family has either a car or a motorcycle. All this indicates the marked advances that have been made towards tackling one of our programmatic tasks, that of bringing the living standards of the rural population closer to those of urban dwellers.

Or consider this question: Since the adoption of the familiar resolutions on developing private plots, the number of privately owned cattle has increased by 1.6 million head, as has the number of hogs. People have also begun to keep more sheep and poultry. This is a substantial supplement to our kolkhoz and sovkhoz output.

Let me especially note that the migration of rural population to towns has recently started to decrease. Let us say it bluntly: This is a long-awaited process which now has become a reality. Over the past 3 years the outflow of people from the countryside on the whole has dwindled by 8 percent. In the Russian Federation it has shrunk by 24 percent and in the Nonchernozem Zone by 30 percent.

It is also very important that the birth rate among rural families has increased. In the current five-year plan period this is most characteristic of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic republics, although certain difficulties of a demographic nature still persist in those regions. Taking the country as a whole, the birth rate in rural areas in 1983 reached its highest mark for the past 20 years.

Comrades, in this brief speech I have not set myself the task of making an exhaustive analysis of the initial results of the fulfillment of the Food Program. One thing can be said definitely: It is being translated into reality and the Soviet people see this with their own eyes.

Of course, we are far from being complacent. The situation in agriculture in a number of sectors remains difficult. Agricultural production still lags behind the country's growing requirements. Despite all the achieved positive results, the problem of providing the population of many cities with foodstuffs, above all meat, is still acute. And this worries the Central Committee and is a matter of its daily concern.

The problems raised by life on the road of turning agriculture into a highly developed economic sector demand new and most effective solutions. The matter at issue is not the shifting of accents in our directives but looking for truly innovative and creative approaches.

Proceeding from this the Central Committee today raises the question of unfolding a large-scale land reclamation, seeing it as the decisive factor for further developing agriculture and steadily expanding the country's food stock. Comrades, you know well the difficult conditions in which we have to pursue agricultural production. The overwhelming share of farmland is located in areas with adverse natural and climatic conditions and subject to droughts.

Therefore in order to have stable harvests in these conditions, it is necessary to minimize agriculture's vulnerability to the vagaries of the weather.

This is a major task, an age-old dream of the crop farmer. V. I. Lenin pondered ways of accomplishing it as early as the first years of Soviet rule. In 1921 the Council of Labor and Defense adopted on his initiative the resolution "On Combatting Drought," which said: "It is necessary to recognize efforts to combat the drought as a matter of prime importance to the country's agricultural life and the measures adopted in this direction as vitally important" ("Resheniya Partii i Pravitel'stva po Khozyaystvennym Voprosam" [Party and Government Resolutions on Economic Problems], vol 1, Moscow, 1967, p 223).

The same year Vladimir Il'ich addressed a letter to the communists of the Caucasus, pointing out with utmost clarity and depth: "What you need most is irrigation, for more than anything else it will revive the area and regenerate it, bury the past and make the transition to socialism more certain" ("Poln. Sобр. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 43, p 200).

It was in this way, with Lenin's typical wisdom and vision, that the task was set at that time. I think there is no need to argue that it is relevant and sharp even today. It is necessary at long last to relieve the people of the tormenting worry about the crop and give them the joy of triumphing over the elements. It is our duty; it is our obligation.

Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov will give a detailed summary of the plan for land reclamation through the year 2000, drafted by the USSR Council of Ministers and endorsed by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The decisions which will be adopted today will indisputably open up a new and major stage in improving the fertility of lands. In a comparatively short time it is planned to extend the area of irrigated and drained lands by 50 percent, which will make it possible to double crop output there. As a result, the country will be able to produce nearly one-half of its gross crop harvest irrespective of weather fluctuations. This, comrades, is the most important thing. The question is not only one of the scale of work, although, as you see, it is very impressive. The kernel of the matter is the qualitative side of the work to improve lands. It is planned to set up major zones of guaranteed production of farm produce on an industrial basis, like grain, feed and vegetable factories. Naturally enough, this should be done with the use of up-to-date engineering, essentially automated, systems. Scientific farming techniques, the best crop varieties and hybrids, advanced technologies and crop programming should be put to priority use on the improved lands.

To tell the truth, previously we could not even dream of setting and tackling such tasks of a fundamentally new character in the countryside. Now we have the opportunity to do so. Whereas previously the farms received an odd assortment of low-efficiency machines, now machine building is switching over to the manufacture of the most modern sets and systems of machines. Effective pest-control chemicals and intensive-type crop varieties and hybrids have been

developed. The production of mineral fertilizers is growing. Our agriculture now has qualified personnel and able production organizers. Agroindustrial associations are gaining in strength, especially at rayon level, as the main form of integration between agriculture and industry. The economic mechanism is being consistently streamlined, and the brigade contract method of work in the countryside is gaining ground. What remains to be done is to use all these new possibilities to the maximum.

First of all, comrades, concern for raising the productivity of agriculture requires a different attitude to land, one of our most valuable assets. The attitude must be even more considerate toward irrigated and drained lands. As a farmer would put it, this means putting everything that is needed in the improved hectare of land and giving it all one's heart--the land would then be generous in its reward.

One should proceed from the fact that, not infrequently, land improvement measures determine, literally, the viability of farms and whole districts. Take Saratov Oblast. Droughts there are so frequent and ruthless that in the recent past many local farms could not avoid having feed shortages for years on end. I was told by Comrade V. K. Gusev that since water came to those parts, the people have acquired confidence, seen the perspective and begun to live and work better. Now that irrigated lands there total half a million hectares, the oblast stably fulfills plans for selling livestock products to the state. The problems of providing the population with vegetables has been solved.

Irrigation has literally transformed even those lands which have always been considered as hopelessly barren, such as the Nogay Steppe in Stavropol Oblast. In the "Put' k Kommunizmu" Kolkhoz which is headed by Comrade N. D. Tereshchenko, yields of perennial grasses and silage crops have risen to 128 quintals of fodder units per hectare after the construction of an irrigation system, whereas previously they stood at just 5 quintals. The grain crops yields have trebled. Such are the tremendous possibilities offered by reclamation!

Comrades, when carrying out the national program for land reclamation, it is very important to make the right choice of priorities in capital investments and type of output. The new plan gives preference to coping with such key problems of agriculture as increasing the production of grain and feed. It is also important that the transition to irrigated vegetable growing will be completed.

As far as the territorial aspect of the problem is concerned, we are quite justified in planning the biggest amount of irrigation work in the country's south. There are good lands, sufficient warmth and labor resources there. In other words, the maximum effect will be achieved there sooner. Reclamation work in the Nonchernozem Zone will be continued. It will play an important role in transforming that zone.

In initiating the large-scale development of land reclamation, it is necessary first and foremost to ensure a drastic rise in the efficiency of the use of irrigated and drained land. It is unforgivable that projected crop yields are

so far obtained in the country only from one-third of irrigated areas. The productivity of improved land in Belorussia, Moldavia and in virtually every other oblast of the Russian Federation has not been raised for many years now. Rostov Oblast, for instance, obtains from its irrigated lands almost one-third less grain, feed and other produce than Crimea Oblast, although the natural conditions in the steppe areas of the two are roughly equal.

We cannot be satisfied either with the fact that water conservation projects are not always of good quality and comprehensive or designed with a view to long-term service and high returns from land improvement systems. Their operation is neglected in a number of oblasts. Rudimentary land improvement projects, making it possible substantially to improve the condition of farmland with small inputs, have been unjustifiably pushed into the background. Stated bluntly, water resources are expended uneconomically in many areas. Whatever reasons some comrades may cite to explain the situation, thrifty managers must not do business in this way.

Ministers Comrades N. F. Vasilyev, V. K. Mesyats and N. T. Kozlov must resolutely stamp out dissipation of effort and sometimes even departmentalism in work harmful to the common endeavor. The tasks in organizing water conservation construction and in utilizing land should be tackled by joint efforts, in a businesslike and constructive manner and with a sense of high responsibility to the party and government.

The district agroindustrial associations and all the agricultural bodies in the center and locally should set about resolving these problems in a more practical way and more perseveringly.

I want to single out specifically the following matter. Comprehensive approach is a must in carrying out work in the entire cycle of land improvement, from choosing a target to obtaining projected yields. Solutions to the problems of water conservation construction, land development and farm development on improved lands should be dovetailed from the outset. Everything necessary should be supplied in full measure for the irrigated and drained lands, including fertilizers, equipment pesticides and all other material and technical resources, including those needed for the operation of systems. Indeed, comrades, we are investing a great deal of the people's money in land improvement and pinning very big hopes on it. Therefore, no miscalculations at any level of management should be allowed to frustrate the possibilities of obtaining the best possible results.

In drafting guidelines for the 12th Five-Year Plan, the USSR Gosplan and ministries and departments should reckon with the new demands now made on land reclamation and agricultural machine building and on the production of mineral fertilizers and the necessary chemicals.

A good deal will depend on local bodies. A realistic and well-balanced approach to the choice of priority targets for land improvement must be adopted. Economically weak farms call for a special approach. Such farms must be prepared well in advance for the use of land with engineering land improvement systems. It is necessary to reinforce them with cadres, to build up a production base and to improve crop farming standards.

We have every right to hope as well that kolkhozes and sovkhozes will not wait passively for someone to come to them and begin work. They should display initiative, tap latent possibilities and mobilize their own forces and resources to carry out jointly with water conservation organizations work to improve their lands.

It is an urgent task to put natural feed land into order. Its area is known to be immense, and I would say, comrades, that it is just impossible to overestimate the reserves of that virtually boundless storage of natural feed. It is necessary to set about without delay and most perseveringly to raise the productivity of all meadows and pastures and to commit every effort to this undertaking.

We cannot help touching upon ecological problems in connection with the question discussed today. In carrying out large-scale land improvement, we are invading nature in one way or another. This should be done very carefully so that in transforming land we should not do harm to it but, conversely, improve and ameliorate it and multiply the potentialities of nature. All of us should think not only about today, but also about tomorrow and avoid making hasty and ill-considered decisions. It is worthwhile recalling here Marx's idea that people using land, like good fathers of families, should leave it in a better state for succeeding generations (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, part II, p 337).

I would like to use the opportunity to mention another matter. The forest is a great gift from nature. It plays an immense role in preserving water and land resources, improving the environment and, one can boldly say, making all life on earth healthier. Forestry products are very important to the economy of the country and forests should be treated as carefully as the land.

I was told by some kraykom and obkom secretaries that fields with afforestation belts and with trees and bushes grown to protect ravines and sandy soil are less affected by dry winds and wind and water erosion. Apparently, there is a problem here which must be tackled in all seriousness. It concerns the efficient use of the raw material resources of forests, the restoration of forests and their reproduction at priority rates. More thought should be given to this problem and, perhaps, some views should be revised.

These are the considerations I would like to share in connection with the questions on the agenda.

Comrades, our party has entered the period of practical preparations for its regular 27th Congress. I already said at the jubilee plenary meeting of the Writer's Union Board that currently the Central Committee Politburo is paying particular attention to the drafting of a new edition of the CPSU Program. At the same time, proposals are being worked out for possible changes in the party bylaws. It is very important for us to ensure the organic unity of these fundamental documents.

The bylaws, just like the new edition of the program, should reflect the high requirements on the organization of the party's inner life, on the style and

methods of work of every component of the party, on the work and conduct of communists and on their activity, responsibility and discipline, which are requirements stemming from the CPSU's political course.

An inseparable component of preparations for the congress is the drafting of the 12th Five-Year Plan and plans for the longer term, which are to embody and concretize the party's economic strategy to the end of this century.

The main goal of these plans is clear. It is, by relying on the ever more substantial results of the work of the Soviet people, to raise public well-being to a qualitatively new level and considerably to improve the material, cultural and intellectual standards of the life of our people.

The party explicitly outlined principal ways for reaching new frontiers of socioeconomic progress. They are the accelerated development of social production and the maximum possible utilization of intensive growth factors. We must achieve in the 12th Five-Year Plan period a breakthrough in raising the efficiency of the national economy.

The economy can be converted to intensive methods of development only on the basis of scientific and technical progress. It is necessary to strive in every area for a drastic rise in labor productivity and an improvement in the quality of output. It is no less important to continue perseveringly in every sector the course of tightening the economy regime and improving management and the economic mechanism.

High growth rates, efficiency and good quality of output should all become a mandatory rule for the work of every sector and enterprise. I would say, a rule for the work of everyone. And no allowances must be made here!

It is particularly important today to translate these general fundamental guidelines into the practical language of targets and indicators of state plans, the main tool of fulfilling the party's economic policy.

The Central Committee Politburo has examined the preliminary results of the work on long-term plans. The task has been set to envision higher, more demanding plan targets for the development of production, for raising its efficiency and for improving the living standards of the population. Work has now begun at the Gosplan, in ministries, departments, republics, oblasts and enterprises to mobilize reserves so that our plans should be oriented even more effectively to maximum end results.

The Ministry of the Electric Equipment Industry, for instance, has found possibilities to envision in the plan a 35 percent increase in output over the next 5 years. This figure is higher than the initial estimate of the USSR Gosplan for that ministry.

The Vladimir Oblast party organization has approached the task creatively. They have found additional reserves, which have made it possible to increase by a factor of 1.3 earlier plan targets for a rise in industrial output.

Recently, as you know, the Central Committee approved the steps taken by the Leningrad Oblast party committee to improve economic efficiency. A good deal is being done in this respect in Moscow, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia and other regions. I think that such work should be carried out more energetically in every republic and oblast, at all the ministries and at every enterprise.

In preparing for its congress, the party concentrates the efforts of the working people on successfully meeting the plan targets of the current year and the 5-year period as a whole. It can already be said today that this year's results will be good. The national economy continues to gain momentum, quality indicators are becoming better and the living standards of the Soviet people are rising.

But we clearly see shortcomings as well. Quite a few enterprises and farms and some industries are working below capacity and fail to meet their plan targets and commitments. There still is time. There is more than a year left of the five-year plan and a good deal can be amended. More energy and perseverance should be displayed to put production in order, to improve organization and to tighten plan and production discipline, particularly in lagging sectors.

Now a few words about the completion of the agricultural season and preparations for future harvests. Crops were harmed by bad weather in a number of areas and a substantial shortfall in the grain harvest will result. The situation is quite strained with the provision of feed for the livestock. Farm workers, with the energetic participation of people from cities, are working dedicatedly everywhere to overcome the difficulties that have arisen. The CPSU Central Committee thinks highly of these efforts. It is very important to use every possibility today to ensure the successful wintering of the livestock and to prevent even the slightest drop in the production and procurement of livestock-breeding products. All the preparations for spring fieldwork should be conducted at a high level.

To sum it all up, everyone should work very efficiently and with utmost dedication during the remaining months of this year and the final year of the 5-year period to create a reliable base for a confident start in the next 5-year plan period.

Comrades, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee will today discuss a plan of large-scale constructive efforts to improve land fertility. The party considers the implementation of this plan a priority direction for the coming years.

The participants in the plenary meeting have been familiarized with the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers which concretize the land improvement program. I want to address on behalf of the Central Committee Politburo, the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist parties of union republics, kraykoms and obkoms and to ask them to establish strict party control over the implementation of these decisions.

Success will depend on an understanding of the political importance of the formulated tasks by every worker and every collective and on organization at every section. This should be the target of the organizational and political work of the party organizations, and of the activity of government and economic management bodies.

A clear plan should be drawn up and implemented in every republic, oblast and rayon to fulfill the planned measures with due regard for the local production and natural and climatic conditions. It is particularly important to display here a creative approach, economic acumen and enterprises, and to shed customary but outdated standards. Priority should be attached to raising the standards of training of highly skilled land improvement workers, agronomists and other agricultural specialists. More exigency should be displayed on efficiency in land reclamation and the results of the economic management of improved land.

The new tasks make higher demands on the primary party organizations of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and on rural raykoms. They are called upon to step up educational activities among the people, to strive for better organization and order in every area of work in the countryside and also to foster in every worker a sense of high responsibility for assignments.

A good deal is to be done by ideological workers and the mass media. Their direct duty is to focus attention on the work done by the party in the countryside, to give better coverage to the efforts of farmers and to enhance the prestige of their work.

The party hopes that the land reclamation program will evoke an ardent response and support from our Komsomol. The project to put millions of hectares of improved land at the service of the Soviet people offers our glorious youth both adventure and a possibility for education through labor.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses the confidence that the fulfillment of the long-term program of land reclamation will become a cause of the whole people. It will make it possible to take another major stride towards highly developed and stable agricultural production and to raise the Soviet economy to a higher level.

(The speech was listened to with tremendous attention and was repeatedly interrupted by prolonged applause.)

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON LAND UTILIZATION

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pp 12-16

[CPSU Central Committee Resolution of 23 October 1984: "On a Long-Term Program for Land Reclamation and on Enhancing the Efficiency of the Use of Reclaimed Land for the Purpose of Steadily Building up the Country's Food Stock"]

[Text] Soviet people, implementing the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and of the subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, are working enthusiastically on the implementation of complex and responsible tasks of economic and cultural development. A considerable growth of public production has been achieved and the people's well-being is steadily rising.

Further strengthening of the country's economic potential is promoted by the all-round development of the agroindustrial complex and of its main element, agriculture and by the consistent implementation of the USSR Food Program. In accordance with the decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the economic mechanism and management in the agrarian sector are being perfected, the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhozes is being strengthened, and social changes are being made in the countryside. The production and purchases of farm products, meat, milk, eggs, potatoes and vegetables above all, are increasing. This is having a positive effect in improving the population's food supplies.

The communist party attaches exceptional importance in its agrarian policy to increasing the stability of agricultural production as a major condition for a balanced development of the entire national economy. A decisive role in the attainment of this goal belongs to reclamation--a powerful means for intensifying farming and for raising its productivity. In combination with the mechanization and chemization of agriculture, land reclamation ensures a rise in the fertility of lands and the most rational utilization of farmland and of the material-technical and labor resources.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum points out that, as a result of the consistent implementation of the party's course towards large-scale reclamation, a great amount of work has been carried out in the country to renovate farmland. Large hydraulic reclamation facilities have been built and

the irrigation and drainage systems which were brought into operation earlier are being reconstructed on an up-to-date technical basis. The area of improved lands has grown from 17 to 33 million hectares in the time since the May (1966) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The area includes 19 million hectares of irrigated and 14 million hectares of drained land. This now accounts for a third of the entire amount of crop production. The entire amount of rice and cotton, three-quarters of vegetables and a half of all fruit and grapes are grown on irrigated lands. The production of corn grain and feed on the reclaimed land has considerably increased.

At the same time, the measures being taken do not always ensure a sufficient stability of the development of farming and livestock breeding and a rise in their productivity. Quite considerable damage to agriculture is caused, first of all, by droughts that have been frequent in recent years. This results in visible fluctuations in the volumes of farm output, strains population food supplies and tells on the economy as a whole. The achieved level of development of land improvement is not yet able to fully make up for the consequences of adverse weather conditions occurring in a number of regions of the country. Therefore, new, large-scale measures are needed to ensure a further rise in the stability of agriculture and a steady increase in the output of grain, feed and other farming and livestock products.

The CPSU Central Committee deems it necessary to concentrate the efforts of the communists and all work collectives of the sectors of the agroindustrial complex and the machine-building, building, chemistry and power industries on the implementation of the long-term land reclamation program, which has been worked out on instruction from the Central Committee Politburo and embodies the experience and latest achievements of scientific and technical progress in construction of water-development facilities and highly effective utilization of the improved lands to obtain high yields from them.

Shortcomings and omissions in the operation of the created reclamation systems should be urgently eliminated. Advanced technologies for the cultivation of crops on irrigated and drained lands should be introduced. One should not reconcile oneself to the fact that many farms do not show due concern for raising farming efficiency. The necessary amounts of fertilizers and ameliorants are not applied, and advanced forms of the organization of labor and labor incentives are not being introduced well enough. Insufficient attention is being given to the training and retention of qualified personnel of mass trades. As a result, projected yields have not been attained on a considerable part of lands for a long time and the funds which are invested by the state do not yet yield the needed results.

It is necessary to take urgent measures to further improve the construction of water conservation facilities and to improve the quality of work. There are still cases of the dissipation and misuse of funds. The amount of uncompleted construction is being reduced too slowly. Comprehensiveness in construction is far from being ensured at all projects. The construction of facilities for farms developing reclaimed lands is still lagging. Planning, water conservation and agricultural bodies underestimate the reconstruction and repair of the operating systems and the implementation of necessary amounts of reclamation work. Directions and priorities in the use of capital investments

are not always profoundly substantiated during the designing and construction of reclamation systems. Up-to-date engineering solutions, which ensure a high reliability of facilities under construction and a fast return on investment, are not applied everywhere.

The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and agroindustrial associations quite often show lack of coordination and sluggishness and without due persistence tackle many basic matters aimed at further developing land improvement. Contenting themselves with volume indicators in work, they do not make due demands on the leaders and specialists of water conservation organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes for the rational utilization of land and water resources, for the ensurance of reliable operation of the water conservation systems and for improving the effectiveness of capital investments and the reclaimed lands. In a number of places party organizations conduct insufficient organizational and political-education work among the personnel of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, land reclamation specialists and builders, and ineffectively direct their efforts towards activating all the reserves for boosting farm output. The magnitude and significance of the land transformation tasks which have been determined for the 12th Five-Year Plan and for the longer term call for cultivating among the cadres of all levels a statesmanlike attitude towards work, daily party concern for the improvement of their business qualification, for a higher responsibility for the effective conduct of land reclamation and for the results of managing the improved lands.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee resolves:

1. Fully to approve the provisions and conclusions contained in the speech made at the plenum by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on further development of the country's economy, on the main directions of the intensification of agricultural production and on the enhancement of the role of land reclamation in steadily increasing food supplies. The party, local government, and economic bodies, public organizations and work collectives shall be constantly guided by them in their practical activities.
2. To approve the long-term program for land reclamation and raising the efficiency of utilization of improved land for the 12th Five-Year Plan and the period through the year 2000, endorsed by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and set forth in the report of Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The following shall be considered as its main areas: high-efficiency utilization of all irrigated and drained lands with every farm's achievement of projected yield by the time fixed;

Acceleration of the development of irrigated farming in the south of the country--North Caucasus, the Volga Region, the Ukraine and Moldavia with a view to setting up large zones of guaranteed production of farmland produce;

Continuation of irrigation construction in the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Transcaucasus Region;

Implementation of a complex of land improvement work in the Nonchernozem Zone of the Russian Federation, Siberia and the Far East, in the wooded districts of the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic Region;

Expansion of irrigated land plots in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and interfarm associations with the use of local runoff, groundwater and basin irrigation.

The USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan, ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics should provide in the annual and long-term plans for economic and social development, the allocation of a full measure of capital investments and material resources for the unconditional fulfillment of the tasks formulated by the land reclamation program.

3. The central committees of the communist parties of union republics, the kraykoms, obkoms, okrughkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, the USSR State Committee for Agricultural Machinery, local government bodies, agroindustrial associations, primary party organizations and economic managers should unfold active organizational and mass political work for a successful fulfillment of the tasks arising from the long-term reclamation program.

To enhance economic and moral responsibility of managers and specialists, work collectives of agricultural and water management enterprises for, and their interest in, the final results of work on reclaimed lands. To press for the timely and full implementation of the entire complex of agrotechnical, technological and organizational measures ensuring high-intensity farming and annual production of the projected yield of all farm crops. To strictly comply with the established procedure for the full-scale provision of improved lands with fertilizers, chemical ameliorants and pesticides, equipment and seeds of highly productive varieties and hybrids. To take measures to scale up the production of peat and its utilization as fertilizer and the production and supply of lime and other calcareous materials. To intensify considerable efforts with a view to qualitatively improving lands, reconstructing and raising the technical level of land improvement systems and organizing a reliable maintenance service. To carry through a system of measures to ensure an economical consumption of water for irrigation and to introduce advanced watering techniques on a wider scale.

To organize the training of skilled personnel for work at kolkhozes and sovkhozes on irrigated and drained land.

4. To instruct the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and party and local government bodies to take effective measures to improve the entire system of water supply construction, to intensify control over the implementation of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee on raising the effectiveness of capital investments, reducing the time of

construction and bringing production to the planned figure, on further concentration of the necessary resources on the most important construction projects. To ensure comprehensive construction on improved lands, including the construction of agricultural facilities, road building and the timely commissioning of housing, child care establishments and cultural and consumer institutions, regarding that as an indispensable condition for raising the efficiency of utilization of funds invested in land improvement.

5. In the implementation of the land-improvement program the CPSU Central Committee attaches great importance to accelerating scientific and technical progress.

To instruct the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the All-Union V. I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control to improve the work of scientific establishments in studying problems of raising productivity and stability of farming in the conditions of irrigation and drainage with respect to different natural and climatic zones of the country and selecting new varieties and hybrids of the intensive type.

Greater attention should be paid to questions of economic efficiency of land reclamation, designing and establishment of technically advanced irrigation and drainage systems and modern machinery for carrying out land improvement, repair, maintenance and agricultural operations. To speed up the introduction of scientific achievements and advanced experience in water supplying construction and agricultural production. To enhance substantially scientific substantiation of regional redistribution and rational utilization of water resources and to show constant concern for environmental protection.

6. The USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the Ministries of Machine Building, Chemical, Power and Electrification, and others, should ensure the delivery of high-quality and highly reliable machines, materials and equipment in strict compliance with the drafted program. To scale up efforts to develop more advanced, highly productive and efficient earth-moving and land-reclamation equipment, instruments, means of automation and telemechanization of water handling facilities, and machines and equipment specially designed for repairs and maintenance of land-reclamation systems and to accelerate their serial production.

Party organizations of industrial enterprises should exercise permanent control over the fulfillment of planned tasks in supplying kolkhozes and sovkhozes and water resource organizations with equipment, means of chemization, polymer materials and other resources essential to an efficient utilization of irrigated and drained lands, to the construction of new projects, reconstruction, maintenance and operation of land improvement systems. To aim work collectives toward tapping additional reserves and potentialities for overfulfilling these tasks.

7. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasizes that the fulfillment of new major tasks in the field of land improvement demands further perfection of the style and methods of party leadership. It is necessary to develop and encourage initiative and efficiency in every way, to strengthen discipline and orderliness, to enhance the efficiency of control, to intensify socialist emulation in work collectives, to concentrate their efforts on the resolution of concrete tasks of raising the efficiency of utilization of capital investments and the created fund of improved land. Greater concern should be shown for the wide-scale introduction of the cost-accounting brigade contract system and the experience of front-ranking farms which managed to exceed the projected yield on improved lands. The role of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the local soviets in the fulfillment of these tasks should be enhanced.

The editorial boards of the Moscow-based, republic and local newspapers, television and radio stations and the USSR State Committee for Cinematography should give wide coverage to the progress of plan implementation for further development of land reclamation, to the achievements of leaders and production innovators and to show the role of land reclamation in, and its importance for, the implementation of the country's Food Program.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum expresses the firm conviction that the long-term program for the development of land reclamation will be received by communists and all working people as a major economic and political task, the fulfillment of which will actively promote a steady development of the agrarian sector of the economy, and on that basis, a further rise in the well-being of the Soviet people.

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CSO: 1802/04

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

PM231600 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 84 (signed to press 29 Oct 84)
pp 17-20

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution "On the Progress of the Fulfillment of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum's Decisions by the Armenian Republic Party Organization."

The resolution notes that, in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum and the directions of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations have secured a definite improvement in ideological and mass political work. Its scientific standard and effectiveness are being improved and its links with life and the resolution of socioeconomic tasks are being strengthened. Working people's production and social activeness have increased. The five-year plan targets are being fulfilled in industry, agriculture, transportation and the production of consumer goods.

Party committees' links with the masses are expanding and deepening. There is a healthy moral and political atmosphere in the republic. Ideological education work is being increasingly concentrated in labor collectives. Party groups have been created or party organizers exist in 70 percent of production brigades. Positive experience in political education and the ideological backup of national economic plans has been amassed by party organizations at the "Masis" and "Armelektromash" Production Associations, the Leninakan Textile Combine, the Mathematical Machine Scientific Research Institute, the Kuybyshev Kolkhoz in Abovyan Rayon, the Bagramyan Sovkhoz in Echmiadzinskiy Rayon and others. The educational role of soviets and trade union and Komsomol organizations has increased. The activity of creative unions is improving and the influence of the press, television and radio on all aspects of social life is intensifying.

Work on international education and on propagandizing the historic achievements of the USSR and socialist Armenia is becoming more meaningful. Preparations for the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War are under way. The fostering in young people of pride in our Soviet motherland and readiness to carry out their patriotic and international duty is a subject of constant concern for party and Komsomol

committees. Following the example of the working people of Yerevan, Leninakan and Kirovakan, sponsorship of school classes and children's preschool institutions by production brigades is spreading. Conditions for the thorough study of Russian are being created everywhere. Legal propaganda and the campaign against drunkenness are being vigorously conducted and the delinquency rate has decreased somewhat.

At the same time, the Communist Party Central Committee and party gorkoms and raykoms are being slow to improve ideological and mass political activity in light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, and the isolation of this activity from practical tasks and real socioeconomic processes has not been fully overcome. Ideological work has still not become a matter for every communist. In a number of party committees and primary party organizations, an effective system of educational work with the various categories of the population has not been organized, the state of affairs is analyzed superficially and uncritically and smugness and self-satisfaction are permitted.

Certain party committees lack political acuteness and a principled approach in reacting to failings in people's education. Leading cadres are poorly recruited for ideological education work and many of them lack a party political education. Superficiality has not been eradicated in party studies. Almost one-third of candidate party members and communists of up to 1 year's standing do not attend young communist schools. Only one-half of propaganda workers in Komsomol political education and 27 percent in the economic education system are CPSU members.

There are serious shortcomings in the atheist education of the population. A nonclass approach in the assessment of historical events and personalities is present in certain scientific research and artistic works.

Many party committees and primary party organizations are insufficiently concerned with strengthening state, plan and labor discipline. Losses of work time are high. One in every four enterprises in the republic fails to meet delivery contracts. Industry does not observe the normative correlation between the growth of labor productivity and wages. The five-year plan targets for the construction of housing, hospitals and kindergartens are not being fulfilled and the quality of commissioned projects remains low. Many unresolved problems in municipal services remain.

Party and soviet organs are committing major errors in cadre training and the use of labor resources. Too many jewelers, chefs and hairdressers are being trained in vocational and technical schools, while there is a shortage of machine tool operators, welders and textile workers. Despite the measures that are being taken, a considerable proportion of the able-bodied population is not engaged in public production and there is no reduction in seasonal work. All the potential for overcoming negative phenomena such as bribery, speculation, money-grubbing and protectionism is not being fully utilized.

The CPSU Central Committee instructed the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations, while consolidating and developing positive trends in their work, to implement the

decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, to take effective measures to eradicate the noted shortcomings. The content, style and methods of all organizational and ideological activity among the masses must be brought strictly into line with party demands. The improvement of ideological education work directly in labor collectives, brigades and livestock farms must be considered a task of prime importance.

Propaganda, agitation and working people's socialist competition must be geared to the unconditional fulfillment of the plans for 1984 and for the five-year plan as a whole and to a worthy greeting the 27th CPSU Congress. The patriotic initiative of leading workers who have pledged to complete their personal five-year plan targets by the 40th anniversary of the great victory must be disseminated in every possible way. The questions of intensifying the economy, increasing labor productivity and quality, further building up the production and procurement of agricultural products and more effectively utilizing the republic's scientific, technical and production potential must be constantly at the center of attention of party and social organizations, economic leaders and the mass media. The broad involvement of workers, kolkhoz members, specialists and scientists in compiling the plans of economic and social development for the 12th Five-Year Plan must be ensured.

Party committees and soviet, trade union and economic organs are instructed to show daily concern for the working man. Absolute fulfillment of the plans for the construction of housing and sociocultural projects must be achieved, the work of trade and public catering enterprises must be improved and special attention must be devoted to the development of municipal and consumer services. Following the example of the republic's ministries of communications and health, reports by the leading workers of the departments, enterprises and organizations that are called upon to satisfy people's requirements and needs must be delivered regularly in labor collectives. Educational work's material base must be strengthened and the creation of cultural and sports complexes in rayons and cities must be completed in 1985.

In accordance with the directions contained in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech at the All-Union Conference of People's Control Workers, party committees and party organizations must step up the struggle against negative phenomena and violations of socialist legality and morality.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations must consistently mold in working people a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, a class approach to social phenomena and high political vigilance. They must educate them in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, socialist internationalism and the indissoluble fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR. The national composition of the population must be more fully taken into account in cadre selection and placement.

The ideological-theoretical standard and effectiveness of party and economic studies must be increased, the complement of propaganda and agitation workers and lecturers must be strengthened, and the network of political enlightenment rooms operating on a voluntary basis must be developed.

Heroes of the Soviet Union and heroes of socialist labor, cadre workers and party, war and labor veterans must become more widely involved in mass political work. The mass media must clearly and convincingly propagandize the Soviet way of life and come out more boldly against mismanagement, lack of discipline and parochialism. Effective measures must be taken to improve the atheist education of the population and to introduce socialist rituals more actively. The training of specialists in scientific atheism must be organized in voles and universities of Marxism-Leninism. Social scientists must be oriented toward the profound study of economic, sociopolitical and spiritual life and the elaboration of valid recommendations for improving ideological work in light of the republic's specific features.

The CPSU Central Committee stressed that party and soviet organs and Komsomol organizations must show great concern for the civic formation of the rising generation, as well as pooling the efforts of the family, teaching establishments and labor collectives. High ideological and moral qualities and profound internationalist consciousness must be molded in young men and women. The reform of general education and vocational schools must be implemented persistently and purposefully and a modern production training base must be created. Specialists and workers must be trained in accordance with national economic needs. Young people's desire to work on the country's shock construction projects must be supported. The unions of writers, artists, composers and cinematographers must be instructed to develop sponsorship ties with labor collectives and Soviet army servicemen and border guards. The achievements of multinational and socialist culture must be more actively propagandized.

The republic's communist party central committee and party gorkoms and raykoms were instructed to put into practice a systematic and comprehensive approach to educational issues and to introduce long-term targeted program planning. Ideological commissions' activity in coordinating all means of ideological influence and generalizing and disseminating positive experience must be improved. The responsibility of first secretaries and the sectorial departments of party committees and republic ministries and departments for political work with people and for ensuring the close unity of ideological, organizational and economic activity must be enhanced. Leaders must be held more strictly accountable for violations of the norms of party life and for shirking personal participation in working people's education. The theoretical training and vocational skill of ideological cadres must be improved. The training of party organization deputy secretaries for ideological education work, party group organizers and production brigade party organizers, must be organized.

The CPSU Central Committee instructed the republic's communist party central committee and the council of ministers to take additional measures to involve the able-bodied population in social production and to step up work on

interrepublic organized recruitment. The USSR Gosplan and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, along with the relevant ministries, were instructed to provide for accelerated development of labor-intensive industrial sectors in the republic in the draft plan for 1986-1990 and for the long term.

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE WASHINGTON POST

LD170732 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian, No 16, Nov 84 (signed to press 29 Oct 84) pp 21-23

[PRAVDA, 18 October 1984]

[Text] The head of THE WASHINGTON POST's Moscow office D. Doder asked K. U. Chernenko to answer some questions dealing with Soviet-U.S. relations, i.e., a subject which this request refers to as being of concern not only to THE WASHINGTON POST's readers but to millions of people throughout the world.

Following are K. U. Chernenko's answers:

Question: President Reagan has said that the United States is prepared to resume a dialogue with the Soviet Union on a broad range of questions including arms control. What is the attitude of the Soviet Union towards President Reagan's expression of readiness for talks?

Answer: In the past, we have already heard words about the U.S. administration's readiness for talks but they have never been supported by real deeds which would attest to a genuine desire to reach agreement on a just and mutually acceptable basis at least on one of the essential questions of our relations, particularly in the field of arms limitation and a reduction of the war danger.

Every time we put forward concrete proposals, they would run into a blind wall. Let me give some examples.

Such was the case last March, when we listed a whole set of problems. Reaching agreement on them--or at least on some of them--would mean a real shift both in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the international situation as a whole. But, what they did was simply to evade responding to our proposals.

Such was the case in June, when we proposed reaching agreement on preventing the militarization of outer space. This time we were answered but with what? An attempt was made to substitute the very subject of negotiations. It was proposed to discuss issues related to nuclear weapons, i.e., issues which had previously been discussed at the talks in Geneva which were wrecked by the United States itself. At the same time, the United States not only refused to

remove the obstacles created by the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe but is going ahead with their deployment.

And what about outer space? Instead of preventing an arms race in space, we were invited to proceed to formulate some rules for such a race, thus in fact to legalize it. Obviously, we cannot agree to that. Our objective is genuinely peaceful outer space and we shall persistently strive for this objective.

These are the facts.

Turning now to President Reagan's statement which you have referred to. If what the President has said about readiness to negotiate is not merely a tactical move, I wish to state that the Soviet Union will not be found wanting. We have always been prepared for serious and businesslike negotiations and have repeatedly said so.

We are ready to proceed to negotiations with a view to working out and concluding an agreement to prevent the militarization of outer space, including complete renunciation of antisatellite systems, with a mutual moratorium--to be established from the date of the beginning of the talks--on testing and deployment of space weapons. This is precisely the way we formulated our proposal from the outset. Now it is up to Washington to respond.

The Soviet proposal that the nuclear powers freeze quantitatively and qualitatively all nuclear weapons at their disposal also remains valid. Agreement on that matter would mean mutual cessation of the building of all components of the existing nuclear arsenals, including delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads. The nuclear arms race would thus be stopped. That would decisively facilitate further agreements on reductions in and eventual complete elimination of such weapons. The White House still has before it our official proposal that the Soviet Union and the United States initially agree to freeze their nuclear weapons, thus setting an example for other nuclear powers.

There is a real opportunity to finalize the agreement on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests. Should there be no such tests, these weapons will not be improved, which will put the brakes on the nuclear arms race. Here, too, the United States could prove in deeds the sincerity of its declarations in favor of nuclear arms limitation. The United States can also prove it by ratifying the Soviet-American treaties on underground nuclear explosions. These treaties were signed as far back as 1974 and 1976. Prove it precisely by ratifying them and not by inviting observers, as suggested by the American side, who would merely dispassionately ascertain the fact of explosion.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly called upon Washington to follow our example in assuming an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Every time the answer was "no." Imagine the reverse situation: The United States assumes an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and calls upon us to reciprocate while we say "no," this does not suit us and we reserve

the right to a first nuclear strike. What would people in the United States think of our intentions in that case? There can be no two views on that score.

I have mentioned several most pressing problems related to the cessation of the arms race and the strengthening of security. There are other important questions which, I believe, the President is well aware of. All of them call for solutions and for making concrete efforts. Unsupported by practical deeds, words about readiness to negotiate remain mere words.

I believe the above answers your question.

Question: A view is widely spread that recently a shift has become discernible which could lead to better Soviet-U.S. relations. What do you think about this and what is your view of the prospects for these relations in the time to come?

Answer: Indeed, sentiments in favor of a shift for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations are widely spread in the world. This, in our view, reflects the growing understanding of the importance of these relations, particularly in the current international situation.

Unfortunately, so far there has been no ground to speak of such a shift in Soviet-U.S. relations as a fact of life. Is it possible? I shall give an unequivocal answer to this question: Yes, it is possible. The resolution of the problems to which I referred earlier would help to bring it about.

I am convinced that there is no sound alternative at all to a constructive development of Soviet-U.S. relations. At the same time, we do not overlook the fact that we have different social systems and world outlooks. But, if the responsibility which rests with our countries is constantly kept in mind, if policy is oriented toward peace and not war, these differences not only do not exclude the search for mutual understanding, but call for it.

I have already said in the past and I wish to stress it once again: We stand for good relations with the United States and experience shows that they can be such. This requires a mutual desire to build relations as equals, to mutual benefit and for the good of the cause of peace.

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REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE WORLD AND THEIR CAUSES

AU221602 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 84 (signed to press 29 Oct 84)
pp 24-37

[Article by B. Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] Cardinal revolutionary changes are taking place in the contemporary world. They are the natural result of the deep processes of socioeconomic development.

However, proponents of anticomunism see the "hand of Moscow" and the intrigues of "world communism" behind all these changes. Apologists of imperialism, and primarily of Washington's policies, stubbornly and persistently strive to force the idea on Americans and on the public opinion of other capitalist countries that all social changes that have taken place on earth during the last half of a century have done so precisely for this reason. The struggle in the zone of national liberation, particularly in Latin America, the antimonopolist struggle in the capitalist countries, and the sociopolitical changes taking place in the life of mankind as a whole are also thus explained away. Responsibility for all the failures that imperialism has suffered in the struggle against the forces of social and national liberation is placed on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It is in this spirit that U.S. President R. Reagan has spoken for many years now.

The objective laws of social development, which have been revealed by science and confirmed in practice, are not to the liking of the apostles of imperialism: they are either unaware of these laws or do not recognize them. For them, socialism and communism are not the product of historical development or its natural result, but some kind of "anomaly in human history" and "a sad and accidental chapter in the history of mankind." They try to reduce the historic conflict between the forces of progress and reaction, socialism and imperialism, to a struggle between abstract forces of "good" and "evil." The system of free enterprise--primarily American imperialism--is supposedly the bearer of "good."

The real reason American reaction fulminates against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and also against the communist movement, lies in

the fact that their very existence restricts imperialism's expansionist activities and prevents the spheres of "vital interests" and domination of American capital, which hypocritically calls itself "democratic capitalism," from spreading throughout the world.

Not baulking at anything, the pillars of reaction shout that the Soviet Union, which consistently upholds the cause of peace and the security of the peoples, is a "threat to freedom and peace on all continents," that Europe is threatened by Soviet domination" and the "subversive activities" of the USSR and that there is really no corner on earth against which the cunning Soviets and communists--these bearers of "evil and sin"--would not plot. These are all allegations that are ignorant from the viewpoint of science and slanderous from a moral viewpoint.

And what exactly are the intentions for the coming years of the United States, this force of "good," if one is to judge, for example, by the documents of the Republican Party, which openly express the class essence of imperialism's international policies?

In the military-political sphere, the intention is to gamble on the arms race and on the gaining of military superiority, and it is also a hymn to militarism, where "American might and determination" and the strategy of acting "from a position of strength" are sung and where the enumeration of new types of arms and the exposition of programs for increasing strategic and tactical potential is alternated with appeals to ensure superiority--"military," "technical," and "qualitative." It entails plans to build a "comprehensive" antimissile defense system and to militarize outer space; the aspiration to acquire the ability to carry out a "disarming" first strike against the Soviet Union. This program of militarism and aggression once again confirms that it is not the Soviet Union and not the forces of socialism that pose a threat to peace and create the danger of a third world war breaking out; rather it is imperialism, ruling American circles, and the military-industrial monopolist capital behind them.

In the economic sphere, the intention is to undermine economic and scientific-technical links with the USSR and other socialist countries and also includes a program to introduce capitalist systems in "Third World" countries and seize "strategically important and useful minerals," in Africa, for example, under the pretext of it being necessary to "protect" them.

In the ideological sphere, the intention is to "crusade" against socialism and conduct a "psychological war" against the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. It includes a platform which envisages "conveying to others the beneficial ideas of democratic capitalism," that is, the ideological expansion of imperialism and struggle against any progressive movement. Perhaps for the first time in the history of the United States, ideological expansion has been elevated to the rank of the most important aspect of state policy. It is with this aim that the "Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy" has been drawn up, as well as the propagandist project "Truth" and other large-scale measures which set the task of processing people's minds throughout the world in the interests of the monopolist bourgeoisie and in the interests of ruling circles in the United States and

other NATO countries. As one ideologist of neoconservatism, N. Podgorets, has said, the war of ideas "is, perhaps, even more decisive than any military confrontation. It is extremely necessary for us to restore (?) our might in this sphere, as well as in the sphere of armaments, in order to wage an ideological offensive."

At the center of these subversive ideological actions lies the offensive against real socialism and Marxism-Leninism with the aim of discrediting it, weakening it, and, as R. Reagan has said, casting it "on the ash heap of history."

I

Why is it that the crusade against real socialism and against any liberation movement and Marxism-Leninism lies at the center of the U.S. administration's international attacks?

The CPSU and the Soviet state are guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching in their foreign and domestic policies, but they never bring ideological differences into the sphere of interstate relations, believing that the historic dispute between the socialist and capitalist systems must be resolved by peaceful means and without armed struggle. The foreign policy of the USSR and of the other countries of the socialist community is based on the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The entire many-years practice of Soviet foreign policy activity serves as convincing evidence of this.

Hatred of Marxism-Leninism is fed by its enemies primarily because, being global and all-embracing, this teaching has scientifically substantiated the transient nature of the capitalist system, the decline of capitalism, and the inevitability of communism's future victory.

In vain do American reactionaries declare communist teaching an "anomaly" and in vain do NATO figures console themselves with the fact that "Marxism has not been attractive to the world"! Each year Marxist-Leninist teaching wins over millions of followers who become convinced of the rightness of this teaching by concrete facts of the contemporary era. This is because only this teaching has been able to penetrate the essence of the historical process, reveal the true meaning of mankind's history and illuminate its prospects.

As unscientific and unobjective understanding and a prejudiced interpretation, serving the interests of the exploitative classes, of the history of human society--its past, present, and, what is more, its future--is characteristic of the opponents of communism. Here the range is very broad: from directly falsifying history to manipulating analogies with previous eras with the aim of censuring existing socialism and simply ignoring historical progress.

The fabrications of the ideologists of neoconservatism and reaction are countervailed by the materialist explanation of history, the strictly scientific, dialectical-materialist method of researching social progress and the methodology of true cognition of social processes.

Attempts were made even before K. Marx to penetrate the secret of that which represents historical development. However, only the revelation of a materialist interpretation of history and the spreading of materialism into the sphere of social phenomena, V. I. Lenin pointed out, eliminated the two main shortcomings of previous historical theories. "First, at best they considered only the ideological motives of people's historical activity without researching into the sources of these motives, without trying to perceive objective laws in the development of the system of social relations, and without discerning the roots of these relations in the degree of development of material production; second, previous theories did not encompass the very actions of the masses of the population, whereas historical materialism made it possible for the first time to research the social conditions of the life of the masses and changes in these conditions with the precision of natural history" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 57).

As is well known, Marx was the first to advance the thesis according to which the mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and spiritual process of the life of society in general. It was thereby made possible to explain the nature of the development of social relations.

However, according to Marx, it is not enough to know the social process. This knowledge is necessary in order actively to influence the development of society in the interests of those who create all its wealth and who safeguard the very existence and the conditions of progress of human civilization by their labor. The philosophy of history and methodology of Marxism, which are based on this principle, determine the revolutionary practice of communists and its indissoluble mutual connection with the real processes of social life.

Analysis of material social relations has made it possible to state the recurring nature of processes in different countries and to generalize them in a fundamental concept of social formation (*ibid.*, vol 1, p 137). This in turn has made it possible to draw the conclusion that change in socioeconomic formations lies at the basis of the historical process and social progress. Every formation represents a certain stage of social development, an integral system, a stage in world history and an historical model of a concrete society and its socioeconomic structure. Marxism-Leninism has reestablished--and it is against this conclusion that apologists of capitalism are particularly up in arms--that no antagonistic, exploitative formation can develop into infinity. The time comes when the production relations characteristic of it come into conflict--and under capitalism this process continues today--with productive forces and with the progress of science and technology. Then the prerequisites arise for replacing one formation with another, which is superior by virtue of its type of historical development. "No social formation," Marx emphasized, "perishes before all the productive forces for which it provides sufficient scope have fully developed, and new, higher production relations never appear before the material conditions for their existence have matured in the heart of the old society itself" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 13, p 7).

Thus, Marxism has shown the way to a truly scientific understanding of the historical process of the appearance, development and decline of presocialist

social formations by examining the aggregate of all contradictory trends and conflicting forces. As Lenin emphasized, the Marxist theory of class struggle is the main thread in knowing the laws of the development of social contradictions and revolutionary transformations and of the historic necessity to make the transition to socialism ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." vol 26, p 58).

Whereas antagonistic formations apply to mankind's prehistory, present history and the flourishing of mankind began only with the formation of socialism--the first phase of communist formation--in which antagonistic contradictions are absent. With the appearance of scientific socialism it became clear that only from the position of materialist theory can one grasp the process of historical development and understand the causes and essence of the changes taking place in society and the substance of revolutionary changes and social revolutions.

II

By distorting the essence of the historical process, anticomunists strive to pervert the idea of social revolutions and present them as an accidental and unconditioned phenomenon in the history of society. This kind of antihistorical approach is particularly characteristic with regard to social revolutions of this century, when a powerful influence is exerted on world events by the workers and communist movement and the existence of the world socialist system. A coarsely primitive understanding of revolution finds that anticomunists emasculate a revolution's social content and present it merely as the result of a "communist plot," a chance episode in the life of the people, or even of usual "disorders," as E. Meese, until recently counselor to the U.S. President, has said, for example. The false concept of the "export of revolution" from the Soviet Union to other countries is being intensively propagandized. The majority of national and social revolutions in the contemporary era are passed off as "communist revolutions" behind which either Moscow or other socialist countries are supposedly to be found.

The brochure recently published in the United States, "The Strategy of Peace by Means of Force," which represents the views of reactionary circles, claims that the Kremlin is the main "guilty party" in the revolutionary movement. "The free world," it says, "has come face to face with a threat to its existence. The Soviet Union strives to impose its will on mankind and has developed a strategy for achieving this aim." The U.S. administration has based its foreign policy on this concept, which claims that the responsibility for all revolutionary changes in the world rests with the Soviet Union and that the objective course of the liberation movement should be halted. Hence, the gambling on force and on colossal armaments, including nuclear arms.

But one must remember the lessons of history. Over the millennia pharaohs and emperors, kaisers and tsars, presidents and other leaders have tried to prevent social changes which would undermine the foundations of their dominion. All these attempts have invariably ended in failure, because what has matured in the heart of society and has been brought about by the objective course of history is inevitable. Revolutions, as Lenin pointed out, "develop when tens of millions of people reach the conclusion that it is impossible to live any longer in the same way" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." vol 36, p

357). And today the inexorable step of objective processes turns into pygmies those who anathematize communism and see the "hand of Moscow" in socialism, revolutions and liberation movements, and attempts to offset them with the tyranny of imperialist diktat and "crusades."

Naturally, our ideological opponents choose to ignore the fact that, according to communist teaching, no revolution can be accomplished if its social economic prerequisites have not ripened.

"Revolutions," said Lenin, "are not made to order and are not timed to take place at a given moment, rather they come to a head in the process of historical development and break out at a moment conditioned by a complex of a whole series of internal and external causes" (ibid., p 531). And it is precisely for this reason that any "export of revolution" is simply impossible and senseless, just as it is impossible to introduce socialism "from above" by means of introducing it from outside.

Even some prominent U.S. bourgeois figures have been forced to admit the absurdity of the idea of "exporting revolution." Thus, former Assistant Secretary of State G. Ball has noted in this connection: "The Soviet Union has become an obsession with the present government. It does not admit that almost all the crises we come up against today are crises for which the Soviet Union bears no responsibility." M. Toon, once U.S. ambassador to Moscow, has spoken in the same vein: "One must be overly narrow-minded to blame the USSR for all difficulties in the contemporary world."

The anticommunist thesis of "exporting revolution" is necessary to imperialists in order to substantiate their policy of exporting counterrevolution. One does not have to look far for examples: aggression against freedom-loving Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, the encouraging of counterrevolutionary forces in the African countries, support for counterrevolution in Afghanistan, subversive antisocialist actions against the peoples of central and Eastern Europe and much more.

The export of counterrevolution has become a particularly dangerous form of imperialist expansion in the international arena: It creates a threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples, pursues the aim of preserving antinational, exploitative regimes and reviving capitalist systems and leads to the growth of international tension. Imperialism implements the export of counterrevolution both by armed means and by means of subversive actions, utilizing the special services and various forms of interfering in the internal affairs of countries where revolutionary changes have taken place. The export of counterrevolution is aimed at liquidating the achievements won by the peoples in their struggle for social and national liberation and brings terror to revolutionary peoples, the persecution of fighters for freedom and the flouting of human rights. However, any imposition of counterrevolutionary systems from outside is doomed to failure in the historical long term, because such an action has no roots in the national and social soil of a country that has embarked upon the path of revolution.

In its counterrevolutionary fervor, contemporary anticommunism would like to forget that the bourgeoisie itself became a ruling class as a result of

revolutions, albeit of a limited class nature. One should recall that even the United States gained political independence as a result of a national-liberation war. The bourgeois revolutions triumphed because feudal relations no longer met the requirements of the existing capitalist mode of production, which was progressive at that time. This once more confirms that mankind's progress along the path of social progress is brought about by means of revolutions.

It is natural that revolutions of different historical epochs differ greatly from one another and have their own particular features.

Of all the revolutions that have ever taken place in history, the greatest influence on the whole course of social development has been exerted by socialist revolution.

This evolution represents the process of transforming the deepest foundations of human life. The Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new era in world history and has entailed a whole series of revolutionary shake-ups in the capitalist system and steady narrowing of the sphere of capitalist domination.

It is no accident that the forces of reaction have made the October Revolution the object of their most furious attacks and malicious falsifications, which not only attest to the anticommunist thinking of their authors, but also to their total inability to understand the essence and nature of the October Revolution. Moreover, there is also an elementary ignorance of the subject on which they dare to express themselves. A typical example of this kind of ignorance is the brochure "The Strategy of Peace by Means of Force," already quoted above. It claims, no more, no less, that "between 1917 and 1921 the Soviet Union expanded its borders, swallowing up the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia." It has not occurred to the authors of this composition that the USSR was only formed in 1922, and the Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and Turkestan (which included not only Kazakhstan) joined the Russian state long before the October Revolution.

The October Revolution opened up the era of the liberation of all the peoples of Russia from social and national oppression and all forms of exploitation, the era of the flourishing of a multinational socialist society--the Soviet Union.

The importance of the October Revolution in the history of mankind is also determined by the fact that it put an end to the system on earth whereby one ruling class is replaced by another, while exploitation and oppression remain. The development of society has turned sharply toward socialism, which has abolished exploitation and oppression and the power of the minority over the majority once and for all.

Great is the role in the historical process of the contemporary era of revolutions accomplished in the 1940s and subsequent years of the 20th century (earlier in Mongolia), when Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Vietnam,

China, Cuba, Laos, Poland, Romania, North Korea, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia fell away from the world capitalist system.

Although each of these countries had their own particular features in the development of revolution, as a whole, the revolutionary changes followed common laws. They were predetermined by the objective logic of social development. An obsolete form of production relations was replaced by a new form. Industry, banks and transport were nationalized. The fading class of the bourgeoisie suffered defeat in the class battles and was compelled to cede power to the workers class and its allies. A new political power--the power of the people--was established.

From the viewpoint of anticommunists, all this is a manifestation of the "expansion" of the Soviet Union. But allegations of this kind are necessary only in order to substantiate the subversive activities of the United States and NATO against the socialist countries.

After World War II the national liberation movement experienced a powerful upsurge as a result of the utter defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan. By this time internal forces struggling against the suffocating oppression of colonialism and against imperialism had matured. National protest generated the development of national awareness. The social consciousness of the workers class, the millions of peasants and the intelligentsia, which comprised the greatest strength of the liberation movement as a whole, also matured. Thus, the prerequisites were created for cardinal revolutionary changes.

It is precisely by virtue of these factors, and not due to "Soviet expansionism," that the peoples were liberated from colonialism and many of them chose a socialist path of development.

The anticommunist concept of the "foreign" origin of national liberation revolutions is insulting to those peoples who have accomplished these revolutions. It ignores the many years of selfless struggle of each of these peoples and their vanguard, as well as the sacrifices made for the sake of freedom and national independence.

Let us take some examples from contemporary history.

As a result of the most acute social and national contradictions, the profound crisis of the whole system of power which gripped the country, and of general discontent, the national-democratic revolution of 1974 developed in Ethiopia. The popular masses of this country found themselves under triple oppression--feudal-monarchic, capitalist and neocolonial. On top of this, numerous nationalities and national minorities were subjected to national oppression and religious persecution by the ruling group, which was basically made up of representatives of Amharic feudal lords headed by the emperor himself.

As to what prerevolutionary Ethiopia was, the facts speak for themselves. According to official UN statistics, it occupied one of the last places in Africa in terms of annual income per capita of the population. The overwhelming majority of the peasantry, which constituted approximately 90

percent of the population, was without land. Unrelieved poverty and deprivation of rights, almost universal illiteracy, mass epidemics and sickness--such was the lot of the humble man.

As a result, a revolutionary situation took shape in Ethiopia in 1974. The country was gripped by strikes, peasant revolts and student unrest. Ferment began in the army. The uprising of the Ethiopian people, reduced to despair, the overthrowing of the monarchy, and the triumph of the revolution, which from the very outset had set itself antifeudal, anti-imperialist aims, were natural and inevitable.

Today the 32 million people of Ethiopia are successfully liquidating feudal vestiges and have formed the party of the Working People of Ethiopia, which leads the process of completing one of the most important stages in the development of the revolution: ensuring the conditions for making the transition to the building of socialism.

Another example: Anticommunist propaganda claims that events in Afghanistan were inspired by the Soviet Union. In actual fact, the revolution of the Afghan people is without doubt an internal affair. The USSR had nothing to do with its organization.

Today the people's authorities in Afghanistan are successfully fulfilling the tasks emanating from the April 1978 revolution. State enterprises are being formed at which an 8-hour working day has been introduced, major social problems are being resolved in the spheres of education and public health care and land reform is being implemented. A law on labor has been passed that is aimed at protecting the interests of the working people. One can say that many social problems in the life of the Afghan people would have already been resolved if it were not for the criminal interference of the United States, Pakistan and other countries that are providing internal counterrevolution and its bands with great military and material support.

It is obvious from the examples of Ethiopia and Afghanistan that the people's revolution was an objective necessity, that society required it and that change in the social system could not help but become reality.

The revolutions in Chile and Nicaragua were dictated by the requirements of free socioeconomic development. Aspiration to be liberated from the domination of the national bourgeois-landowning oligarchy and the sway of foreign, primarily North American, capital--this is what engendered revolution in these countries, and not prompting from outside, as imperialist propaganda tries to claim.

Incidentally, the revolution in Chile was carried out by strictly peaceful means, while observing all the norms of parliamentary democracy. This did not prevent interference by the United States which overthrew the legally elected government of socialists and communists. In this connection, the cynicism and falsity of allegations that the spreading of socialism in the world "has taken place not with the aid of popular movements or free elections, but with the aid of armed force or subversive actions" is totally obvious. But armed force and subversive actions in Chile, in Nicaragua and in other countries are

the tactics used precisely by American imperialism. Events in Chile, and now also in Nicaragua, can serve as a classic example of how imperialism organizes the export of counterrevolution. However, the defeat of the Chilean revolution is temporary. The forces of imperialism and the Pinochet dictatorship can only slow down the development of the revolutionary process in this country, they cannot stop it.

Thus, these and other social revolutions of the contemporary era have arisen and are arising from the internal needs of the political and socioeconomic development of the peoples. The groundlessness of the myth of the "foreign" origin of these revolutions and of the negation of the laws of their accomplishment and their historically predetermined nature is thereby obvious.

III

Striving to halt the inexorable course of history and to prevent revolutionary changes, imperialist reactionaries try to prevent the development of the revolutionary activeness of the masses not only on the "periphery" of the capitalist system, that is, in former colonies, but also within the very bastions of capitalism. In this respect, imperialism resorts to political pressure, ideological "brain-washing," and police persecution, utilizing the whole apparatus of propaganda and coercion, while at the same time it demonstrates boundless hypocrisy, pharisaism and sanctimoniousness. "Democratic capitalism in the United States and other countries has demonstrated an unparalleled ability to guarantee political and civil rights and reliable prosperity for a constantly growing number of people," it is claimed in the platform of the Republican Party. But it totally fails to mention the fact that more than 8 million people in the United States are without work and that 35 million live below the "poverty line." In this "richest" and "most free" country human rights are constantly violated, racial and national discrimination is implemented and spending on the people's social needs are cut. Not just anyone, but the President himself has spoken on the disastrous situation regarding public health care and education in the United States.

All this creates an objective basis for the growth of dissatisfaction among the popular masses. The social demagogic of the ruling classes clearly does not work.

As society progressively develops, the activeness of the popular masses increases. Lenin termed this conclusion one of "the most profound and most important tenets" of Marxism ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." vol 2, pp 539-40). He particularly singled out the idea of Marx and Engels that "an increase in the depth of scope of historical effect is connected with an increase in the numerical strength of the historically effective mass" ("Soch." vol 35, p 189).

The popular masses have responded to the social evils of capitalism with increasing antimonopolist struggle and to the threat to the peace posed by imperialism with the antiwar movement, which has gathered unprecedented force in the 1980s. Actions against the tyranny of capital and the bourgeois state by British miners and longshoremen, West German metal workers, French miners

and metallurgists, American automobile assemblers and representatives of other detachments of the army of hired labor, as well as the thousands of peace marches, sieges of NATO military bases and mass actions against the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, all this is incontrovertible evidence today of the correctness of Lenin's conclusions.

During the course of social revolution there is a clash, as a rule, between two opposed classes--one, which has become obsolete, and another, to which the future belongs. Lenin believed that without the concept of class and class society the concept of social revolution was insufficiently concrete.

There is nothing more false and nothing that is at variance with reality more than the claim made by bourgeois ideologists concerning the "classless" or "above-class" structure of contemporary capitalism. All bourgeois concepts that deny class contradictions and class struggle within the framework of capitalism, such as the recently "fashionable" theory of "postindustrial society" propounded by Bell, have failed to withstand the test of time and facts. In exactly the same way, Weber's theory of "class and estates" has been refuted by capitalist reality, as well as attempts by Darendorf and other Western sociologists to substitute the concept of "class" with "inequality" and the functionalist theories of stratification propounded by Parsons, Davis and Moore [as transliterated], which were recently regarded in the West as "refutation" of the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle.

The view that it is not these ideologists, but Marx and his teaching that most fully reveal the substance of classes and class struggle in the contemporary era is today becoming more and more firmly established in Western countries.

And so, attempts to "abolish" the class struggle and make it seem that it is totally obsolete by the end of the 20th century have proved to be groundless, from both a theoretical and a practical point of view. Class battles have entered the flesh and blood of contemporary social development. The capitalist world has found itself face to face with an unparalleled hardening of the conflict between the workers class and the bourgeoisie and between the popular masses and monopolistic capital.

The results of the class battles of the 1960s to the 1980s make it possible to think that the concepts of those bourgeois ideologists who argue "integration" of the workers into the capitalist system have become bankrupt and that Marx's conclusions have been completely justified concerning the historic role of the workers class, which has proven its practical ability to wage a struggle against the system of capitalist exploitation, lead the struggle of the people for freedom and equality and ensure the triumph of socialism by relying on the vast historical experience of class battles that exists in its aktiv.

The communist parties play the leading, vanguard role in the struggle of the workers class. It is deeply symbolic that the working people have for a long time connected people struggling for mankind's just future with the world "communist." The communists of today are the successors of those fighters who throughout the centuries perceived the flaws in the societies contemporary to them and dreamed of transforming them.

Contemporary anticomunism directs the poisoned edge of its propaganda against the parties of the workers class and strives to slander them and represent them as groups of "conspirators," "agents of Moscow," and almost as terrorists.

The hatred of the monopolist bourgeoisie for the parties of the workers class is completely explainable. The communist parties are the most dynamic, purposeful leading section of the workers revolutionary movement and one that is armed with scientific theory. "The party," Lenin emphasized, "is the aware, foremost stratum of the class and its vanguard. The strength of this vanguard is 10, 100 times and more greater than its size" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 24, p 34).

The Marxist-Leninist parties combine socialist ideas and the theory of scientific communism with the workers movement. The activities of the communist parties are aimed at ensuring that the workers class and the other working classes understand, through their own experience and in the course of their daily struggle for their immediate socioeconomic and political interests, the historically doomed nature of capitalism and the inevitability of the transition to socialism as the highest social form answering their vital interests and also that they develop the struggle for socialism.

Communist parties in capitalist countries have to operate under very different conditions. They are experiencing unprecedented political and ideological pressure from imperialist forces. The most bitter propagandist campaigns have been unleashed against the communist movement, especially since World War II, and the most heavy repressions are rained down on the communist parties. The most sophisticated methods of political discrimination are used against the best representatives of the workers class, such as the "public employment bans" in the FRG. The class strategy of the monopolist bourgeoisie has become more refined. However, the communist movement continues to grow, expand and swell with new detachments.

In recent years, imperialism has stepped up its subversive work against the international communist movement. The United States and NATO would like to discredit the communist parties, destroy them from within, and "neutralize" them by distancing them from the CPSU and severing them from the Marxist-Leninist ideological base.

The development of social processes in the world of capitalism sets communists new problems. In order to understand them, thorough analysis of concrete material is required, as well as careful discussion, attention to the experience of other communist parties, and, the main thing, interpretation from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. The differences in the conditions under which communist and workers parties operate can result in a dissimilarity in evaluations and in approaches to various problems of political struggle. This fact is utilized by the enemies of communism striving to inflate these differences and turn them into conflicts and an instrument of dissent. The fact that calculations of this kind do exist in the camp of the enemies of communism is attested to by the writings of many anticomunist ideologists.

The ranks of advocates of socialism are multiplying in the course of the daily struggle for the vital interests of the working people. This economic and political struggle against monopolistic capital is being waged with variable success. The workers are increasingly convinced that no partial achievements can change their subordinate position under capitalism or liquidate exploitation and oppression.

The workers class is not alone. It has allies in the capitalist world which, like it, suffer from the evils of the bourgeois system. The countries of the socialist community and the world socialist system are invariably in solidarity with the just struggle of the international worker class. An increasing number of peoples in the zone of national liberation are following a socialist path.

In the revolutionary transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism and the replacement of one formation by another, higher formation is based on the powerful motivating forces of contemporary social revolution.

IV

The zone of capitalism on the geographical map of the world is like shagreen leather: It is continually growing smaller as states appear on it that have proclaimed the building of socialism as their aim. One can say that all mankind is gradually moving toward socialism, which is knocking imperiously at its door.

It is in this that the heralds of imperialism see the "universal expansion" of the Soviet Union. One of the leaders of the reactionary "Coalition for Peace by Means of Force," Senator Laxalt, claims: "Soviet expansionism pursues the aim of world domination and is guided by a global strategy for the sake of this aim." Contemporary followers of Guizot and Metternich, who feared the "specter of communism," seem to see some kind of "world communist empire" in the triumphant step of socialism through the world. However, this is only the reactionaries' distorted idea of the course of contemporary history.

Socialism is today the order of the time. Its historically predetermined nature is reflected in the fact that all social revolutions of the contemporary era, despite each of their special features and originality, have one common law--they contribute to mankind's movement toward socialism.

What objective factors predetermine the further development of this process?

First, labor and production under capitalism are today becoming increasingly social in nature, while the appropriation of the product in general labor is still private. "In its imperialist stage," Lenin noted, "capitalism leads to the most comprehensive socialization of production; it drags capitalists, so to speak, against their will and consciousness, into a new social system that is making the transition from total freedom competition to total socialization" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." vol 27, pp 320-21). Capitalism tries to adapt to changing conditions, seeks new forms for its domination and changes color. However, it cannot escape from its main contradiction.

Second, the antagonism between labor and capital is increasing. The level of exploitation of the workers class is rising and the breach between the level of pay of the working people and the profits of the monopolies is widening. The distance between the growing needs of the working people and their satisfaction is also growing. The monopolist bourgeoisie is trying to take away from the working people even those achievements that were won at the cost of a long and persistent struggle and that reflect the vital needs of the popular masses.

Third, the contradictions of capitalism contribute to the growth of class consciousness and anticapitalist sentiments. They ultimately arouse the political activeness of the masses which, in turn, becomes a factor in further exacerbating the crisis of capitalism. It is natural that any profound social transformations, and especially social revolutions, are possible only as a result of the conscious struggle of the masses.

Attempts on the part of capitalism to remove worsening internal contradictions by utilizing the reserves of the scientific-technical revolution and state interference in the economy, coordinating the economic policies of the leading capitalist states, and so forth, cannot halt the objective course of events leading to an explosion of the contradictions of capitalist society. Of course, capitalism succeeds in prolonging its existence, and this costs the workers very dearly. However, the various measures aimed at adaptation cannot free capitalism from its incurable ills. The inevitability of its departure from the world arena remains. This is why the words of Marx on the "old mole," of history, which digs consistently and persistently and before which capitalism is powerless, have a topical ring even at the end of the 20th century.

Bourgeois ideologists trumpet the fact that socialism and communism are supposedly "unsuitable" for industrially developed countries and that structural changes in contemporary capitalism make the workers class the "minority" which, they say, does not reflect the will of all the people. However, these allegations ignore the fact that changes in the structure of the army of hired labor and the workers class itself do not eliminate its leading role in production and in society, and that precisely socialism can provide an answer to the burning problems of the contemporary era which capitalism not only cannot resolve, but aggravates still further.

The last decades have shown that, by considering the concrete situation on the basis of experience of political struggle, communist parties have deepened their understanding of the process of general democratic, antimonopolist, anticapitalist and socialist transformations as applicable to the conditions and special features of their countries. The ideas of profound changes in the structure of society, antimonopolist democracy, and many other important program principles are called upon to reflect the various stages and transitional forms answering the concrete conditions of maturity of the initial socioeconomic prerequisites of socialism in a given capitalist country.

Striving to discredit fighters for socialism, anticommunism tries to depict them as the advocates of force. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In actual fact, social revolution today is the freeing of society from violence and tyranny on the part of major capital. The transition from capitalism to socialism can occur in various forms. As is noted in the final document of the international Conference of Communist and Workers Parties held in 1969, "while being guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and taking concrete national conditions into account, each party completely independently develops its own policies, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and chooses a peaceful or nonpeaceful path for making the transition to socialism, depending upon circumstances, as well as the forms and methods of building socialism in its country."

Motivated by humanism, Marxist-Leninists advocate a peaceful accomplishment of revolution. The way of armed struggle is a forced way that arises when reactionary forces hostile to revolution strive to deal with it by means of armed strength. Then, even revolutionaries resort to weapons. However, the main tasks of socialist revolution are constructive and they require peace and the preservation of society's productive forces.

In contemporary conditions the workers class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, strive to accomplish socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would correspond to the interests of the workers class and all people, as well as the general national interests of each country. The situation in a number of capitalist countries could take shape in such a way that the workers class and its foremost detachment would be able, on the basis of implementing various forms of agreement and political cooperation between different parties and social organizations, to untie the majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure that the basic means of production are put in the hands of the working people. However, this will be possible only by means of extensively and constantly developing the class struggle of the workers, the peasant masses and other strata of the working people against major monopolistic capital, against reaction, and for far-reaching social reforms, peace and socialism.

Social revolution in the capitalist countries is maturing in conditions where socialism has already convincingly proved its principled advantages over capitalism.

Among the real achievements of socialism one should include the liquidation of all forms of social oppression and national inequality; the absence of unemployment; free education, medical services; state social insurance, inexpensive housing and a great deal more that is inaccessible to the working people under capitalism; the accelerated development of previously backward nations and nationalities; crisis-free development of the economy; and genuine democracy under which the working man, not in words, but in deeds, enjoys extensive access to education and the values of culture and science. Socialist society has made it possible to reveal all the best qualities of the people and has engendered unprecedented activeness on the part of the popular masses in literally every sphere of social life.

Striving to influence public opinion, instill hatred of our country and the socialist system, and prepare a population on a military level, imperialism

has developed large-scale activity to discredit real socialism and socialist society. However despite all kinds of propagandist obstacles, the truth about the achievements of socialism reaches the broad popular masses in the capitalist countries. American reactionaries have today come face to face with the fact that many U.S. citizens, despite all the efforts of imperialist propaganda and appeals for a "crusade," soberly evaluate anti-Soviet, antisocialist myths.

A typical illustration of this is provided by statistics from a survey of public opinion published in the Autumn 1984 issue of the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS. The journal writes of the growth of awareness of the fact that "communism is something... with which one can coexist, even if one does not approve of it" as "a radical change in the American way of thinking." The most politically aware group of Americans do not feel "ideological hostility" toward the Soviet Union, which is what anticomunism has counted on.

Recently imperialist politicians and ideologists began increasingly and frequently to resort to a relatively new card in their propagandist game--gambling on morals and ethical values. The methods of this game are fairly simple; Soviet society and foreign policy are declared "amoral" while, on the other hand, everything concerning U.S. imperialism is highly moral. Following this logic, the use of weapons by the United States is always "moral" even if peaceful inhabitants die as a result of this, which is what happened in Vietnam, Lebanon and Grenada.

The hypocrisy of allegations of this kind is obvious even to many Americans, who appraise the international activities of their country's ruling circles totally realistically and very critically. Former U.S. Attorney General R. Clark has said on this matter: "Our every system seems devoid of honesty," while retired Brigadier General (H. Hester) wrote in a letter to the U.S. President: "I believe that there has never been a state in history that would have acted more amorally after World War II than the United States."

The amorality of the course pursued by American imperialism lies primarily in the policy of acting "from a position of strength," the stepping up of the nuclear arms race, the fabulous increase in the military budget, the transfer of military rivalry to outer space and the proclamation of an era of "star wars"!

While growing stronger and developing as a world system, socialism establishes a social structure in which there is no place for classes and other social groups interested in war as a means of policy; acts as a powerful stronghold of peace between peoples; creates the conditions for resolving the most burning problem of the contemporary era, the problem of war and peace; and prevents the forces of imperialism from forcing a destructive war on mankind with the use of mass destruction weapons.

The humanist mission of socialism in this sphere lies in preventing a new world war, which could lead to the undermining of the very conditions of the existence of human society.

The historic potential of socialism is indivisible from the historic prospects of social progress--the formation and development of a new, communist civilization. In this respect society will pass through a historically protracted phase--the stage of developed socialism. Continuing to develop and be perfected, socialism will gradually develop into communism and will meet the main demand of the transition to the highest phase of communist formation, that of the most just and humane social relations on the basis of full social equality. Communism is the natural result of history, leading the social life of mankind to a qualitatively new and highest level of development and preserving and absorbing all that is best and valuable that has been formed over the centuries by generations of people. It will be a society where, as they say, there will be enough bread and roses for everyone.

So, history works for communism; communism is inevitable by virtue of the very course of historical development. The inexorable step of social progress dooms those who try to halt the wheel of history through "crusades" and imperialist diktat to bankruptcy.

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'...THERE WILL BE A GARDEN CITY HERE!'

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[Article by P. Lapin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and chairman of the USSR Council of Botanical Gardens]

[Text] "If you touch a flower you may disturb a star." In recent years I have been increasingly thinking about these words. What is this? A romantic hyperbole or artistic anticipation of the efforts to achieve universal contact in the world of nature? Whatever the case, the headlong development of the contemporary natural and social sciences most clearly leads us to the conclusion that the world around us, whether man-made or natural, is firmly linked through thousands of ties with the inner world of man and his aesthetic and moral content.

Contemporary concepts of an ideal natural-ecological environment are still far from being realized. They have important ethical and aesthetic aspects which greatly influence the individual and society at large. They are based on the acknowledgment of the expediency, necessity, uniqueness and aesthetic value of the natural context of social life.

Correspondingly, both in its "wild" and consciously created and controlled forms, nature becomes included in the concept of beauty and subjected to aesthetic evaluation. Our contemporaries, the urban residents in particular, are familiar with the enhanced feeling of a special spirituality which takes over the person looking at the wide-open countryside, virgin forests or simply beautifully flowering spring plants which decorate the urban landscape frozen in stone and concrete. Let us note in passing that in European civilization the very feeling of beauty as applied to the natural environment has not always been the ever-present companion of man. Thus, both in antiquity and the Middle Ages, nature was considered primarily a strictly utilitarian environment needed only as life support.

As late as the 17th-18th centuries (let us recall the famous European parks landscaped in a classical style), nature was conceived more as an object of subordination and transformation than aesthetic admiration. It was only during the age of romanticism, with its typical reflectiveness, emphasized aestheticism and turn to the inner world of the isolated contemplative individual, that man became aware of the beauty of a virgin landscape, and a

corresponding style in landscaping was brought to life, as though repeating the "style" of nature itself. Alexander Humboldt, the noted German natural scientist of the first half of the 19th century, wrote, accurately reflecting the aesthetic influences of his time, that "...everything which makes the nature of the landscape: the outline of forests blocking the horizon in the foggy distance, the darkness of a pine forest, a forest stream thunderously flowing between steep banks, are all in a state of constant and mysterious link with man's inner life."

The dialectical-materialistic view on the correlation between the natural-aesthetic and the ethical ideal lifts the fog of mystery which surround the deep aspiration of modern man to enjoy the beauty of nature. Without getting into the strictly philosophical aspects of this topic, the purpose of this article will be different: we shall try to prove the significance of the natural and man-made environment in the life of our contemporary cities, the role of botanical gardens and parks and the "green" content of urban construction and architectural projects, past and present. Sometimes, problems related to these urban construction aspects and the creation of an aesthetic environment as a whole are considered secondary, the solution of which could and even should be postponed indefinitely. We shall not try to refute such viewpoints, for life itself mercilessly proves their groundlessness. Something else is important. The consideration of the ecological problems, which are increasingly capturing the mind of contemporary man and are influencing his scientific, economic and spiritual activities, presumes not only the study of preserved virginal parts of nature and their management but also the creation (or recreation) of centers of the vegetal world in the very thick of urban and rural life. This second aspect of ecology is, in my view, as important as the first. To say the least, they should be developed on an interrelated and interdependent basis.

Frequently concentrating on resolving very important theoretical and practical problems of preserving virginal natural sites leads to ignoring the simple fact that animate nature--the plant world above all--should stand, in the direct or metaphorical meaning of the term, at the threshold of our urban or rural home and that the significance of this man-made vegetation is equally important although it may perhaps not become a source of industrial procurement of timber or any other form of strictly economic use. This is one of the axioms of modern ecology, which should not be forgotten.

The importance of plants, from the health and recreational viewpoints, is self-evident, particularly in our period of headlong urbanization. Their aesthetic significance is also important. The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out the tremendous role which aesthetics and our living standards play in educating a harmoniously developed individual. "The importance of having everything surrounding us bear the stamp of beauty and good taste is self-evident," the CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the congress noted. "The Olympic Village projects and some residential districts in Moscow, the restored pearls of the past and the new architectural ensembles of Leningrad, and new construction in Alma-Ata, Vilnius, Navoi and other cities are our pride." Let us emphasize that these and other among the best architectural and urban construction projects are designed for a man-made environment of parks and landscaping, which not only "frames" buildings and

monuments but creates a unique, if you wish, psychological microclimate which helps the people to experience the joy of life and admire the inexhaustible and most varied aspects of nature subordinate to man while, at the same time, retaining its virgin nature and links with the animal world.

But let us also not forget that the Central Committee accountability report added that "as a whole, however, nevertheless urban construction requires greater artistic expressiveness and variety." Is this not a serious admonition to our architects and construction departments which frequently ignore the tremendous artistic-expressive and simply health-improving potential of animate nature, which is always ready to come to the aid of people who understand and value it?

...In 1977 I had the luck to be present at the solemn inauguration of the Donetsk Botanical Garden of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. This garden was created within an extremely short period of time by a collective of botany enthusiasts headed by Ye. N. Kondratyuk, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member. The party obkom, the oblast executive committee, the republic's Ministry of Coal Industry and the public of the center of the Donbass comprehensively contributed to this noble cause. The resulting garden was splendid and truly human. It has already become a cultural site of Donetsk and has been able to make its contribution to the city's landscape.

Thousands of residents attended the inauguration ceremony. There was music, and speeches were made by oblast and city leaders, members of the Academy of Sciences and representatives of public organizations. I particularly remember, however, the amazingly warm speech by Hero of Socialist Labor A. A. Asyutchenko, delegate to the 25th CPSU Congress and head of a brigade of clearing miners at the Mine imeni Gazeta SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBASS. He said that together with his comrades he frequently came here in his leisure time to work on the construction of the botanical garden. "We proudly describe it as our offspring. You cannot imagine," he said, addressing the crowd, "the great happiness of a person who, after spending 5 or 6 hours underground in mining our coal more than 1 kilometer beneath the earth's surface, rising to the surface, in the sunlight, would see the bright flowers so skillfully and inventively developed in the course of the joint creative efforts of nature and gardening scientists. May our new outstanding botanical garden become more beautiful and develop and may it make its noble contribution to the enrichment and protection of the plant resources of our great homeland, for the sake of the well-being and happiness of the Soviet people. We, the miners, assure all of you that we shall protect our outstanding treasure and shall not allow to anyone to cause it harm." These words are particularly precious for they remind us--botanists, landscape architects and gardeners--of the nobility of our work.

Numerous studies have convincingly proved that forests, parks, gardens and other types of plant covers purify the atmosphere and the water reservoirs from industrial pollution, reduce industrial noise, make the climate more moderate, protect the soil from water and wind erosion and kill harmful microorganisms by releasing phytoncides, special substances which travel in the air. It would be impossible to overestimate the role of plants in terms

of the favorable influence they have on the people, their health and their moral and physical condition. Plants create psychological comfort, develop aesthetic qualities and promote a concerned attitude toward nature.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution brought about radical changes in the economic, political, social and cultural life of our country; as a result, the attitude toward landscaping radically changed. In the past it had been the privilege of parks and palaces. Now it began to be considered the most important means of landscaping of settlements and improving the working and recreational conditions of the working people.

V. I. Lenin paid great attention to the preservation of planted areas and suburban forests and the development of garden and park construction. On his instructions, taking into consideration the lasting value of natural landscapes as a means of cultural-aesthetic and healing influence on people, a joint decree was issued in 1920 by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Health Protection "On the Protection of Planted Areas (Gardens, Parks, Suburban Forests and Other Planted Areas)." V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich recalls that Lenin frequently spoke of the need to spread green areas and to create through the forces of the broad public new parks, gardens, and squares, considering this a method for developing in the people a concerned attitude toward nature.

Lenin's ideas, which have been reflected in official documents, letters and speeches and talks by Vladimir Il'ich, of which we are aware from the recollections of his contemporaries, subsequently developed fruitfully and have retained their essential significance and relevance to this day.

The erection of the famous monument to the fighters of the revolution on the Marsovoye Pole in Leningrad was the symbolic beginning of the tremendous efforts in building gardens and parks after the revolution. The decision to build this memorial complex was passed as early as 1917. During the first mass subbotnik thousands of workers, soldiers and seamen took part in laying the park-memorial. Today this is one of the most beautiful gardens in Leningrad.

Active relaxation and restoration of moral and physical forces are usually described as recreational activities, while natural landscapes, such as forests, parks, meadows and water reservoirs used for purposes such as recreational. The composition of such planted areas, their landscape, planning and amenities and proper care require certain knowledge and a great deal of experience and a scientific approach in their designing, creation, maintenance and utilization. Naturally, all of this involves substantial outlays. What is important is for the labor and materials invested be maximally justified and for such areas to meet their purpose and to be carefully preserved.

Over the past 10 years recreational activities have become an increasingly important aspect of the utilization of basic forest resources along with the procurement of timber and other raw materials and comestibles. According to statistical data, 2.1 percent of the overall area of the European continent is covered by forests used for purposes of recreation, tourism and health.

According to specialists, the minimal need for recreational territories in the USSR, taking into consideration the huge forest areas, would be about 245 million hectares by the year 2000. Timberland will account for a considerable portion of such territories (approximately 200 million hectares). Bearing this in mind, most energetic measures must be taken maximally to preserve even minor sectors of natural forests within the cities, their belt of forests and parks and their immediate surroundings.

The 30-year experience acquired in the creation and operation of the Novosibirsk Scientific Center is a splendid example of combining urban construction with natural forests. The large modern buildings of scientific research institutes, residential districts and social, cultural and medical installations are surrounded by age-old pines, spruce, firs and birches. The plan for the development of the academic city was formulated alongside a general plan for forest parks and landscaped areas. Academician M. A. Lavrent'yev, the founder of the scientific center, personally supervised the steps taken to preserve every single tree at the construction sites.

The experience gained in landscaping the Novosibirsk academic city is being successfully applied in building a number of settlements along the Baykal-Amur railroad line and large industrial-economic complexes.

Naturally, the reorganization of natural forests into parks, forest parks and suburban recreation zones requires major efforts in urban construction and landscaping. Reorganizing natural forests into recreation forest parks and their landscaping is a most complex and responsible task: the creation of groups of species, the edging of the areas and the shaping of individual landscaped groups. Adapted decorative trees and shrubs could be planted at the entrance of parks and other usually popular areas. However, 90 to 98 percent of the main area should retain its natural aspect and human efforts should be limited only to care for hygiene and protection, preserving the timber from cutting or disturbing the undergrowth and the vegetal soil cover and observing fire safety regulations.

Extensive work is being done on landscaping Leningrad's suburban forests and forest parks. The clear task in organizing the timber park zone here was the following: on the basis of the forests adjacent to the city to create good conditions for the rich recreation of the working people in the city and the oblast. Resort forests covering 2,656 hectares were set aside along the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland. The forest park territory includes 40 sanitoriums, rest homes and boarding houses, 12 sports and tourist bases, 160 kindergartens and nurseries and 150 pioneer camps. Excellent conditions for lengthy recreation and treatment have been provided by these institutions. Statistical figures indicate that as many as 1.7 million urban residents of all age groups visit the forest-park area every single day. The zone includes 24 forest parks and nine park forestry farms for public use, totaling an area of 49,000 hectares. Such a vast amount of space prevents the excessive concentration of visitors.

The main task in organizing the overall planning and landscaping of a suburban forest park zone and of national parks is the combination of two conflicting requirements: ensuring the possibility of mass attendance and the free choice

of forms of recreation, on the one hand, and the strict preservation of the favorable conditions of the environment, the vegetal cover and the animal world, on the other. This difficult task is achieved above all through the proper disposition of a network of highways, roads and paths, differently paved depending on their purpose: traveling by bus or automobile, motorcycle or bicycle, walking, etc. Special areas must be set up for the various types of recreation: for walks, separate sports facilities for adults and adolescents and children, bathing and swimming, fishing and controlled hunting.

It is very important for the people who have come to rest in the forest park to enjoy to the fullest extent clean air and the beauty of the landscape and be protected from effects which cause annoyance and trigger negative emotions. To this effect, properly planned reclamation, draining of swampy areas, reconstruction of water reservoirs and improving shorelines are projects being carried out in the forest parks.

Improving the planted areas requires particularly high expertise and experience. This is achieved by delicately rearranging natural planted areas, care and controlled felling and the creation of specific open areas. It is entirely admissible and desirable to enrich naturally developed areas by adding most durable and highly decorative exotic species in the areas of the entrances to the park and around cultural centers. In order to protect plants and animals, it is extremely necessary for motor vehicles to park only where so indicated and the creation of a network of restaurants and coffee shops, fountains and places for camping and building fires.

All of this has governed the creation and reconstruction of Leningrad's suburban parks. The process of improvement of these landscaped areas is continuing. Unquestionably, however, the Leningrad city soviet executive committee and the scientists and specialists in scientific institutions and managers of the forest park facilities are carrying out this project on a planned, methodical and knowledgeable basis. In this respect they hold a leading position in our country.

The successful solution of the practical problems of landscaping and developing a forest park zone in Leningrad was the result of several actions. Important among them was an organizational measure formulated and implemented by the Leningrad city soviet executive committee. The entire organization of landscaping---growing the plants, designing, building and repairing landscaped areas, care for the plants, concern for the decorative location of the plants within premises, and supervising the protection of the plants has been concentrated within a single center: the garden-park and urban landscaping administration. This has ensured the more efficient utilization of the funds, equipment and personnel, established a more sensible set of priorities and ensured the faster utilization of the achievements of the "green industry" and stricter supervision of execution.

We live in an age of scientific and technical progress. The cities are expanding and so is the urban population. Industrial production and the development of the subsoil are increasing and so is the area in airfields and roads; irrigation canals are dug and new land is planted in vegetation and

farm crops. Areas covered by natural life--forests and meadows--are becoming visibly reduced. In the future, such areas will be found in reserves only. Man-made natural facilities must ensure the more efficient utilization of land resources, which are our valuable possession.

In the postwar decades a great deal has been accomplished to ensure the significant increase in areas planted in vegetation in cities, settlements and suburban zones and to upgrade their quality. Important decrees have been passed in recent years by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers and leading bodies in union republics on improving the environment, environmental protection and the development of all forms of landscaping. All of this has encouraged the creation of new forest parks, parks, gardens and squares and landscaped areas around water reservoirs and along highways.

A number of cities have achieved substantial accomplishments in this area. Let us cite as an example that same Donetsk--a city of large industrial enterprises and mines. Here the oblast and city party organizations pay close attention to the development and excellent maintenance of planted areas. Labor collectives and public organizations are involved in such projects. The scientists from the local botanical garden are actively participating in it. Exotic trees, shrubs and perennials are used in urban landscaping. Interesting solutions are provided to landscaping problems and vegetation groups and individual plants have been planted harmoniously and with a sense of proportion. The color ranges of blossoming and decorative-leafy plants have been chosen with a great deal of taste in terms of time and space. The emerald-colored grassy areas are a good addition to this. The decorative compositions are so placed as to be pleasing to the eye throughout the season. In early spring the cherry trees blossom, followed shortly afterwards by horse chestnuts, vines, lilacs, spiraea and irises. In the summer the city is fragrant with the aroma of hundreds of thousands of roses. In the autumn blossom begonias and asters and the red ashberries appear. All of this create a festive picture against the background of gold and purple of birches, linden trees and maples lit by the soft autumn rays of the sun. People unfamiliar with Donetsk usually bring extra clothing, assuming that the smoke and coal dust are permanent companions of life in an industrial center. What a pleasant surprise it is to find oneself in a beautiful city, rich in greenery and flowers, landscaped and amazingly tidy. This has a beneficial effect on the health and mood of the people. It enhances patriotism and love of one's native city, where life is pleasant and work is interesting.

The accomplishments of Donetsk planters have been appreciated highly. In 1978 a group of specialists was awarded the State Prize for the city's landscaping and plants; planting workers have been repeatedly awarded medals and diplomas of the All-Union Exhibition of the National Economy. Donetsk is considered the city with the richest greenery among the largest industrial centers of Europe and, in this connection, has been nominated for the UNESCO big silver medal. However, not only large cities could and should become the targets of the comprehensive and purposeful activities of gardeners and landscape architects.

The Yuknaychyay settlement in Lithuania is an excellent example of how to plant vegetation and landscape rural settlements. This young settlement was built according to a project developed in 1974 by the Lithuanian SSR Gosstroy Agricultural Construction Designing Institute. This settlement, which was designed for a population of 1,000, has clearly demarcated and functionally interrelated basic development areas: a social center (12.5 hectares), residential (26 hectares), economic and industrial. The planning of the center of the settlement is distinguished by a properly laid-out system of roads, pedestrian walkways and vehicle stationing areas and parking spaces. It was the road system which determined the nature of the landscaping. All planted trees, shrubs and flowerbeds are spread over a grassy area of more than 20 hectares which is mowed more than 20 times during the season. Groups of rocks and decorative fountains have been placed very tastefully. The layout and selection of the plants are determined by the landscape architect and the rural house owners must maintain them as planned, for the aspect of the front gardens is part of the overall settlement landscaping system.

The personnel of the city communal economy of Mangyshlak Peninsula work under most difficult natural conditions. It is no accident that these areas are classified among the harshest deserts. The climate here is distinguished by drastically continental-type nature and extreme aridity. In summer the temperature reaches +45 degrees centigrade, while in winter it drops to -30 degrees centigrade with hurricane-strength winds and dust storms. Little snow falls, and the annual precipitation does not exceed 120 to 160 millimeters. The soil is all saline. The building of cities and extracting industry enterprises is of relatively recent vintage. However, those who undertook this development immediately realized that without gardens and planted areas or, in general, without landscaping cities and settlements workers and specialists living in Mangyshlak would find life unbearable. They acted wisely and far-sightedly. In the initial stages of building the administrative center of Shevchenko city they created their own botanical garden in which plants suitable for the peninsula were chosen, and based the solution of this difficult problem on science. The project was carried out with the help of botanists from the Kazakh Academy of Sciences and the construction organizations. In the course of a conversation with one of the organizers of the construction project I heard an important argument in favor of the decision: "We could build nice homes and provide all living amenities for the people who will work here. We could organize regular trade in food and industrial goods. Fresh vegetables and even fresh flowers could be regularly brought in by air. However, we will not be able to offer the pleasing shade of trees until we find a method for growing them locally. Without this, however, the living conditions of the people could hardly be considered optimal."

Today Shevchenko is one of the most comfortable cities in the country. It has been well-planned. Its cultural, medical and consumer services could be taken by other rayons and cities as an example. Workers and employees have properly laid out individual apartments. The city has an excellent botanical garden with a rich collection of plants brought here from different continents. This is a truly splendid oasis in the endless deserts of the peninsula. The entire unbuilt area is thickly covered with grass which is extremely necessary here not only as a most effective decor but also a reliable means of struggle

against a seemingly insurmountable dust problem. Flowers abound in streets and plazas. One is particularly amazed and pleased by the abundance of roses. But what about watering them? A unique solution was provided here as well. The city developed and is using a powerful desalinizer for seawater. The water is used for priority needs and, although this may be hard to believe, for watering the grass, flowerbeds and the plants in the city and its environs.

Such examples (which, naturally, could be extended) are food for thought. Let us ignore the strictly biological and architectural aspects of the topic and turn to the sociopsychological atmosphere which sometimes surrounds the complex and debatable problems of developing the planting and landscaping of our aesthetic environment. In places where such an atmosphere is favorable and the urban authorities pay interested rather than formal attention to the tremendously important problem of gardens and parks, seemingly insoluble conflicting situations can be resolved efficiently and optimally. Not so long ago, a big urban mall was scheduled to go through two old parks--iment I. Yakutov and imeni M. I. Kalinin--a noteworthy collection of tree species and a favorite recreation area in Ufa, the capital of Bashkiriya. Clearly, even if the greatest care were to be taken by the construction workers, the damage caused to the park would have been arable. The problem was discussed at a meeting of the city party committee bureau and, subsequently, the Bashkir CPSU Obkom. It was decided that the pipe would be laid at a depth which would ensure the protection of the roots of centuries-old trees. This substantially increased construction costs. However, the decision was based on superior economic considerations, for a careful attitude toward nature (in fact rather than in words) means, in the final account, a careful attitude toward the people. One does not have to be a philosopher to see the connection clearly.

In the postwar years a number of Soviet cities significantly enhanced the level of landscaping and supplying consumers with fresh flowers for housing, public and industrial premises. This applies above all to Kiev, Minsk, Tallin, Riga, Orel, Kherson, Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, Dushanbe, Omsk and Rostov-na-Donu.

Extensive landscaping has been done in Moscow as well. The task of making the capital a model city is being steadily implemented by the Muscovites under the leadership of the Moscow City Party Committee and Moscow Soviet Executive Committee. Unquestionably, the landscaping of Moscow and improving the forest park area are among the main tasks in this project.

Two important planning documents were drafted and approved by assignment and under the guidance of the Moscow party and soviet authorities: a general plan for the landscaping of Moscow (1974) and a general plan for irrigation of the capital (1975). The landscaping plan calls for merging urban planted areas with suburban forests. This will help to lower the content of dust, smoke and gases in the air, reduce industrial and transportation noise, soften the microclimate and create conditions for relaxation by urban residents in a natural environment. A great deal was accomplished during the 10th Five-Year Plan to landscape the capital: new gardens were laid and old ones reconstructed on Pushkin Square, at the Kiev Railroad Station and the Tajikistan movie theater; plants and water reservoirs at the famous Kuskovo,

Kolomenskoye, Kuz'minki, Filii-Kuntsevo, Izmaylovo, Sokol'niki and other parks were reconstructed.

Nevertheless, speaking of the further improvements in the appearance of the capital, we can only regret that the pace and quality of landscaping the city are still behind the plans and the best world and Soviet models. Despite the tremendous construction of new residential areas, some planning workers are frequently "too busy" to lay out parks and gardens. Such excuses, however, are hardly satisfactory. In a number of cases areas which have been set aside for planting, according to the general plan for the landscaping of Moscow, are built up. The subsequent compensation for such losses would be difficult and the result may be a violation of the harmonious correlation among the most important elements of urban planning.

Moscow is the pride of all Soviet people. The doors of the capital are wide open to receive welcome guests from all parts of the world. That is why we would like to see the capital even more beautiful and its architectural landscaping even better.

Although a great deal is being done to landscape our cities, today's requirements are not always met. As in the past, series of hedges predominate in landscaping, creating the effect of "green fencing." Yet psychologists proved long ago that this type of planting is depressing. This is due to the obsolete landscaping technology and norms of architectural designing. It is still rare to find in our country a landscape architect suitably familiar with botany. This should not be. The landscaping of new gardens and parks and other types of planting should be improved significantly.

Occasionally we come across the view that gardens and parks could be designed by amateurs. This is a major error. The creation of beautiful gardens and parks and gardening masterpieces demands the true talent of the artist, special architectural training, and knowledge and experience in laying out gardens and botanical areas.

Laying out a good park is more difficult than designing and building a beautiful structure. The difficulty is that the vegetal landscape is made up of living material which will change in the course of time, will grow and assume different forms. Each plant has its special reaction to the soil, moisture and light. The landscape architect must take all of this into consideration. In planting saplings he must have a clear idea of the way they will change and interrelate in the future. It takes decades to build a park. The park builder must systematically thin out the vegetation in order to avoid the reciprocal strangling of plants, to open vistas and make landscape compositions more expressive.

Unfortunately, few landscape architects are trained in our country. It is creative foresters and agronomists, who have mastered the laws of perspective, proportions and harmony of colors and light, who undertake to design and create parks. Or else, such projects are undertaken by "strict" architects who become acquainted in the course of their work with the infinite variety of living "construction materials." In other countries, however, it is graduates in gardening, who have successfully passed drawing and painting tests, who are

accepted by schools teaching landscape architecture. We too should seriously consider the training of skilled landscapes architects. To this effect we should recruit young people with artistic talent, who have acquired firm skills in decorative plant growing.

The second factor which limits our possibility of creating highly artistic planted areas is the small variety of available decorative plants offered by nurseries. The proper choice of plants for a grandiose and harmonious garden park composition is of prime importance.

The botanical gardens in the country, some 120 of them, have done extensive work to introduce plants and have selected a great deal of valuable exotic vegetation, which is durable, resistant and amazingly beautiful. Recommended lists of such plants have been drawn up for each natural zone. Thus, over the past 35 years the USSR Academy of Sciences Main Botanical Garden has collected and tested 2,200 species and forms of trees, of which it has selected 600 species suitable for parks and landscaping. A number of excellent blossoming plants have been selected as well.

The gardening and landscaping pavilion of the USSR Exhibition of the Achievements of the National Economy has made one-of-a-kind efforts to disseminate progressive experience in decorative gardening. Its exhibitions show the achievements of model farms in all union republics in growing blossoming-decorative plants, the technology for the creation of landscaped areas, care for them, designing landscaping for cities, settlements, industrial complexes, and sanatorium-resort areas, etc. The successes of scientific research establishments in the areas of landscaping and industrial flower gardening are displayed extensively. Here one can always find live exhibits of new species and varieties of decorative plants, tastefully arranged. Every year the pavilion organizes mobile exhibits, practical science conferences, seminars and experience-sharing courses.

The quality of cut flowers currently grown in the Soviet Union has frequently been tested at the Flora-Olomouc International Flower Exhibit in Czechoslovakia. Our exhibits have frequently been awarded major gold and silver medals and certificates. In the summer of 1982 tulips, hyacinths, daffodils, irises, gladiolas, roses and carnations raised in the greenhouses of the USSR Academy of Sciences Main Botanical Garden, in accordance with the most advanced technology, were exhibited at the big Florianda-82 International Flower Exhibit in Amsterdam. An exhibit of this quality is held once every 10 years. Here the largest flower-growing companies of Europe, North America and Asia displayed their achievements. This was the first time that the Soviet Union participated in such a prestigious exhibition. The requirements were quite strict. Nevertheless, the quality of our flowers earned universal recognition as confirmed by the three silver and two bronze medals awarded to the Soviet Union.

We are part of nature. We are the children of its animal and vegetal world. The more familiar we are with this world the more we become amazed at such grandiose creations of nature and the more we become imbued with respect and gratitude for such a green treasure, which is the source of our well-being, health and joy.

Gradually, step by step, science is penetrating ever more deeply into the essence of plant life, considered from the ecological viewpoint. Despite tremendous achievements in the study of nature, however, and the truly fantastic perfection of technical facilities for experimentation, mankind has still not mastered the secrets of photosynthesis to the extent of reproducing it under artificial conditions and thus to synthesize even its simplest products. However, even when this greatest of discoveries will be made, we shall still be far from the perfection with which the synthesis of organic matter develops in plants.

The variety of nutritional products, construction materials, pharmaceuticals, staples, dyes, resins, tanning substances and other valuable items which man obtains from plants is infinite. Even more amazing is the fact that each plant species and even variety can create all such values in its own and unique way.

The inventiveness of nature is inexhaustible even in terms of the structure of plants and their means of survival. Trees, grasses, shrubs, lianas, mosses and algae live, multiply and form communities--biogeocenoses, under tropical conditions and in moderate climates, where every year a hot summer alternates with a cold winter, in the tundra permafrost and the hot desert sands.

That is precisely why in our century of tempestuous scientific and technological development the attention which the people pay to the life of plants and to ecological problems has not weakened but, conversely, increased even further. The urbanization of life has drastically increased man's desire to communicate with plants in a variety of ways.

A toddler who has no concept of the infinitely complex and varied world which he is about to discover throughout his life smiles at a flower and would like to touch it. That is why at all times--at an early age, in adolescence, at the peak of his powers and toward the end of his life, his eyes will be pleased and astounded by flowers.

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PLACE IN THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 84 (signed to press 29 Oct 84) pp 49-59

[Article by D. Pisarevskiy on the film "Chapayev" as an aesthetic and social phenomenon]

[Text] Fifty years have passed since the brothers Vasil'yev and Boris Babochkin filmed "Chapayev." The film was released in our country during the anniversary of the October Revolution in 1934. From the very first days the showing was accompanied by unparalleled and truly triumphant success. Let us not hasten with the explanation for this. It is assumed that anyone reading these lines has seen "Chapayev" (several times, possibly!) and has developed his own opinion on the attractiveness and touching artistic power of this truly people's film. At the time the picture was released we had few sound motion picture theaters. They were literally besieged by crowds of viewers. The film was seen by collectives of plants, military units, kolkhozes, VUZes and schools. In a number of cities it was shown on an around-the-clock basis. In the first year following its release alone, it was seen by more than 30 million people, a figure unparalleled for that time. A wave of public discussions rolled over the entire country. The pages of the central and local press and plant newspapers were full of the enthusiastic reactions of people of all ages, professions and cultural levels--miners, kolkhoz members, academicians, Red Army men, high school students, writers, military commanders and artists. Having become a "motion picture for all," "Chapayev" revealed the previously unknown possibilities of the cinema in the area of social communication. It refuted the prevailing views according to which the mass audience had not as yet reached the level of appreciation of movies with a serious political content and was expecting of the motion pictures entertainment above all. Yet it was precisely this nationwide audience which embraced the film and made it a phenomenon in social life. The film entered the minds, lives and language of the people profoundly and firmly. It was as though its characters had stepped out of the screen and into life. "Chapayev" became a common noun and people compared themselves to Chapayev the hero in labor competition and in activities which demanded initiative, zeal and valor. The name of this legendary division commander was awarded to shock brigades, progressive kolkhozes and Pioneer detachments. Replicas from the dialogue, such as "Think like Chapay," "You'll never get it!" and "It's a merry-go-round and where is the peasant to go," and many others became part of the vocabulary. For many years children played Chapayev games.

Even then a number of people were thinking of the aesthetic and social phenomenon of "Chapayev" and the "miracle" created by inspiration and passionate art.

Because of the unusually extensive and emotional mail triggered by the film, in its 21 November 1934 issue PRAVDA carried the editorial "Chapayev' Will Be Seen by the Entire Country." In the history of Marxist-Leninist artistic criticism this article was to assume an outstanding place, not only because it was the first time in the Soviet press in which the central party organ had dedicated an editorial to a work of art, but also in terms of the methodology and depth of its aesthetic-sociological analysis.

In that article the film was considered within the broad context of contemporary reality and the tasks of the class upbringing of the young generation. It raised questions, such as the connection between patriotism and historical memory, the influence of revolutionary heroics and the contemporary nature of works of art dealing with the past of our people.

The film itself was evaluated in terms of its social "job"--in terms of the contacts established with the mass audience and its influence on it. The study of the responses and observations of the reactions of the viewers became a base for aesthetic and political summations. "The film captivates the audience from the very beginning. It interests and excites it with each frame. It infuses it with love and hatred, intoxication and fear, exultation and rage, from one scene to another," PRAVDA wrote. "Struggle, victory, defeat and victory again on the screen control the passions of the audience in the dark hall." However, it was a question not merely of the power of the feelings and impressions created by the film or the scale of the creative success of the cinematographers and the gratitude expressed to the authors. PRAVDA rated the film as a tremendous event in the history of Soviet art. "'Chapayev,'" it pointed out, "multiplies in an invisible strong manner the ties between the party and the masses. As a high-level work of art, it convincingly and eloquently proves the organizing role of the party. 'Chapayev' shows the way the party controls the elements and leads them to revolution and victory.... The movie 'Chapayev' grows into a political phenomenon and the mass response of the audience proves the close unity between the working people and their party."

The expression "political phenomenon" is a profound and accurate definition quite different from the "political film" genre which has become quite popular of late. PRAVDA assessed the work in terms of its overall influence on the minds and feelings of millions of viewers. Hardly all "political films" have the ability to unite the human multitudes in this matter. To accomplish this, they should have the qualities which, in his discussions on the cinema, V. I. Lenin described in a talk with Lunacharskiy in terms of the artistic propaganda of our ideas in the form of interesting motion pictures which show bits of life and are imbued with our ideas (see "Samoye Vazhnoye iz Vsekh Iskusstv. Lenin o Kino" [The Most Important of All the Arts. Lenin on the Motion Picture]. Moscow, 1973, p. 166).

"Chapayev" was a rare blend of high idea, vivid political thinking and the tremendous power of art which provides artistic joy and aesthetic pleasure. It was a question not of show and entertainment but of true great art the right to which, as Vladimir Il'ich said, belongs to the working people (see "V. I. Lenin o Literaturne i Iskusstve" [V. I. Lenin on Literature and Art]. Moscow, 1979, p 660).

"Chapayev" was seen not only by the entire country but the world. For the past 50 years it continues to live and excite and remain on the screen, bringing to ever new generations the joy of becoming involved with the heroics of the socialist revolution. Throughout that time ever new aspects of this "miracle" have become apparent.

In the case of "Chapayev" the art of the instructive example assumed unparalleled scope. This is confirmed by the innumerable number of letters of viewers and recollections of contemporaries. The film's influence extended not only to the thoughts of young people about their lives but to a great variety of sometimes unexpected situations. In recalling his childhood, a VUZ docent described the way the film inspired the children to resist a bully and the way it awakened in him a feeling of human dignity for the first time. The example of Chapayev who did not allow Pet'ko to be tried by a court-martial helped a member of the military prosecutor's office to persuade overzealous commanders not to apply unjustifiably strict measures toward their subordinates.

And how many were the people who were helped by the film to react properly under extreme circumstances! Following is the testimony of a person from another country and with a different outlook. "World War II," recalls Balraj Sahni, the noted Indian actor, "broke out while I was in London. The city was subjected to ferocious bombing. I was alone, far from my homeland and was convinced that my demise was imminent.... One day I went to a movie theater showing a Soviet picture. Until then I knew nothing about Soviet films and had never seen one. After the picture I felt that something unusual and very important had occurred in me. I was no longer afraid. The fear of death had left me forever. I owe this to the film 'Chapayev.' (see B. Babochkin, "Mesyats v Indii" [A Month in India]. Moscow, 1959, p 92).

The film was made at a time when the smell of a big war wafted from the flames of the burning Reichstag. The viewers could relate to its military-patriotic themes. The profound impact of "Chapayev," separated by time, was manifested particularly vividly during the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War. Many boys and girls, who idolized the heroes of this movie, themselves went into battle several years later.

Once again the legendary division commander showed up on the screen in the propaganda movie "Chapayev Is With Us," instructing those who were leaving for the front line. In all likelihood, not many people were able to see this documentary. However, the moral lessons of "Chapayev" were profoundly embraced by many people. This is confirmed by thousands of testimonies and letters became part of the spiritual arsenal of the people, of the moral factor of our victory, which the enemy did not take into consideration. In recalling the battle for Stalingrad, Army General P. I. Batov described the

exploit of regimental commander Chebotayev, who personally led his battalion in the attack. He explained his heroic action to the command in Chapayev's words: "If necessary, I will lead in person!"

According to Ye. N. Koshevaya, the mother of Oleg Koshevoy, the young-guard hero, her son loved and recalled this movie. He frequently referred to the characters, including Commissar Furmanov of whom he was particularly fond.

Following is an excerpt from the letter of Senior Sgt Nina Onilova to actress V. Myasnikova: "To Anka the machine gunner in Chapayev's division, whom I saw in the movie 'Chapayev.' I am a stranger to you, comrade, and please excuse this letter. From the very beginning of the war, however, I have wanted to write to you and to meet you. I know that you are not Anka, you are not Chapayev's actual machine gunner. However, you played her character as though you were and I have always envied you. I dreamed of becoming a machine gunner and of fighting just as courageously. When the war broke out I was ready and had mastered the machine gun perfectly.... I defended Odessa with my machine gun and am now defending Sevastopol. I look quite weak, small and thin. But let me tell you the truth: my hand has never trembled.... I would like to describe to you my life in detail and the way in which, alongside the Chapayevs, I am fighting the fascists...."

The letter stops there. Nina had written it before a battle in which she was mortally wounded. As a courageous commander of a machine gun crew, she was awarded posthumously the title Hero of the Soviet Union ("Govoryat Pogibshiye Geroi" [The Fallen Heroes Talk]. Moscow, 1963, pp 80-81).

During the Great Patriotic War the film was the people's ideological weapon. Its showing in units of the active army always triggered an upsurge among the troops, inspiring them to exploits. During the heavy battles at Novorossiysk, art professor R. Yurenev, a former lieutenant, recalls, a projector was brought to the unit and the film "Chapayev" was shown. Although the copy was worn out, the film broke, the lights dimmed occasionally and the sound system became garbled, "I felt an unparalleled inspiration and pride, hatred and the enthusiasm of resolve.... The attack began the next morning and it was Chapayev, riding his steed, it seemed, who was advancing with us" (R. Yurenev. "Kniga Fil'mov. Stat'i i Retsenii Raznykh Let" [A Book on Films. Articles and Reviews of Different Periods]. Moscow, 1981, p 25). The film did not abandon the defenders of the homeland even beyond the front line, deep inside enemy lines. Engineer A. Golubev, who fought in a partisan unit, described the way the troops frequently thought of "Chapayev," recalling the film, collectively rebuilding by memory even the smallest details. It was such "memory showings" that lifted the people's spirit.

The marks which "Chapayev" left in the hearts of the people were crystallized in the characters and actions. Condensing within itself the great energy of the ideas of the revolution, the film became their transmitter and their transformer in new forms of energy. The thoughts and feelings it carried became part of the spiritual experience, ideological views and stance of the people, subsequently to be reborn in human accomplishments--in the innumerable manifestations of inflexibility, courage and the will to win.

Even before that time one could note the transformation of the ideological energy of the work into material force. The mobilizing power of "Chapayev" was unforgettable manifested during the first armed clash with fascism in republican Spain. In his articles to PRAVDA, M. Kol'tsov described meetings at which the film was shown during the defense of Madrid, when thousands of the city defenders, hearing the replica "Chapay has never retreated!" unanimously rose up from their seats and, clutching their weapons, shouted "Viva Russiya! Viva!"

"Chapayev," Dolores Ibarruri said, "became popular among the people. The most militant detachments were named after the character. The scene of the "mental attack" was particularly impressive.... When the Kappelev forces appeared on the screen, mounting a frontal "mental attack," while Chapayev's soldiers repelled it firmly, with their machine guns, letting the enemy advance to a close distance, the action triggered a tremendous uplift among the Spanish fighters and the desire to act similarly. The film developed heroism and firmness. This was Chapayev's main contribution to our people. Naturally, the character of Furmanov as well was quite interesting and instructive to our commissars.... The tactfulness displayed by Furmanov was striking to our troops. Anka as well was everyone's heroine" (from notes from a talk with Spanish fighters, in the collection "Kino i Vremya" [The Motion Picture and the Times], issue No 1, Moscow, 1977, p 57).

Later on as well, during World War II, the heroic chronicle of the resistance provided many examples of the fact that in Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria and other countries partisan detachments or individual daredevils named themselves after this legendary hero they had loved from the Soviet movie. This fighting film participated in many battles and liberation combats in Vietnam, Cuba, and Algeria and, in our days, in Nicaragua. The revolutionary winds of the entire world blow around Chapayev's cloak.

Another "miracle" was ascribed to the participation of this movie in the ideological battles of the century. In 1935 the jury of the first Moscow International Motion Picture Festival awarded first prize to the Lenfil'm Studio "for the creation of the exceptionally highly artistic film 'Chapayev' and the films 'Maksim's Youth' and 'Peasants'." This initiated the recognition of the film abroad. It was purchased by a number of countries. Chapayev was successfully shown in the United States. The American Motion Picture Critics Association described it as one of the 10 best foreign films of 1935. It was widely shown in France and on the screens of other European countries.

Abroad, "Chapayev" displayed features rarely found in movie masterpieces. Its showing on the world's screens was a recurrence of what had happened a decade before with the showing of "The Battleship Potemkin." Our ideological opponents frequently let all hell loose in the showing of "Chapayev," accusing it of being "Red propaganda," preventing its showing and persecuting it in all possible ways. The film had no particular trouble with censorship in France. In Algeria, however, a French colony at that time, it was banned. In bourgeois Czechoslovakia, for example, where the film was shown in 1935 (in a number of countries it was finally shown decades later), the censorship committee did not allow its showing to young people and banned its showing in

Slovakia. "Chapayev" triggered sharp polemics in the press. Right-wing publications opposed the movie and tried to promote dislike for it in connection with scenes depicting the activities of the Czechoslovak Legion. They displayed hypocritical indignation at the horrors of the "fratricidal Slavic tragedy" and described the movie as antiartistic. They accused those who liked the picture (which was shown for several months with increasing success) as a bunch of "snobs."

The journal TVORBA, then edited by Julius Fucik, answered such charges with a pamphlet which exposed the class roots of the attacks on the film and its critics as the lackeys of fascism (see "Chapayev the Red Soldier and the Snob." TVORBA, No 20, Prague, 1935). In connection with the showing of the film, the left-wing press joined in a real battle against the slanderers of the land of the soviets.

In Bulgaria, the monarchofascist authorities banned the screening of "Chapayev" for a year and a half. This triggered sharp political clashes. Thousands of letters of protest reached the censorship commission. Their feelings were properly expressed by Nikola Vapsarov, the revolutionary poet: "Let the entire world see the greatness of the creative power of the Soviet artists and let them sputter saying that Soviet art is only propaganda deprived of artistic value. Want it or not, gentlemen fascists, the Soviet motion picture is making its way and gaining universal fame" (cited from the book by R. Grigorov, "Suvetskiyat Film v Bulgariya" [The Soviet Motion Picture in Bulgaria]. Sofia, 1964, p 81).

Bending to public pressure, the authorities were forced to review the question of allowing the film to be shown, on three occasions. The problem reached the Council of Ministers, after which permission was granted to show the film "only in private movie theaters and not to children and students. All parts containing obvious bolshevik sermons to be deleted." The censorship removed from the film the most important scenes, such as repelling the "mental attack," "the moonlight sonata," "Chapayev's speech at the meeting" and the final part (the reason for this cut was the following: "By cutting this final scene, the film should end with Chapayev's death, precisely where he drowns in the water and the national Russian forces capture the Red headquarters").

Nine other scenes were deleted or cut out. However, under the conditions of the ripening resistance to fascism, the film "Chapayev," cut up by the censors, remained a strong ideological weapon. It stayed on the screen for several years. Despite announcements that "applause is forbidden," thunderous applause could be heard and no official repression could rout its supporters.

Fierce attacks on the film are continuing to this day. Under the conditions of the aggravated ideological struggle, particularly in the areas of films and film criticism, they have even increased. Considering "Chapayev" the banner of the most important stage in the development of Soviet cinematography, its opponents are trying, although retroactively, to belittle and defame the picture. Bourgeois motion picture historians do this quite shamelessly and crudely. Thus, M. Bardech and R. Brazillac, authors of a French multiple-volume history of the motion picture, who failed to find a single interesting feature in the film, accuse it of being far-fetched and cite imaginary

weaknesses as proof of the beloved thesis of the bourgeois motion picture science: the "gap" between Soviet cinematographer of the 1920s and the 1930s. The film's subject is presented as follows in R. Jeanne's and Ch. Ford's "Encyclopedic History of the Motion Picture": "Chapayev waged guerrilla warfare.... Then, Chapayev dies and his friends, in order to avenge him, rout the enemy in a most bloody fashion." The purpose of such juggling of the facts, although camouflaged with praises of Babochkin, is to distort historical reality and slander the Soviet system and its art.

The hostility of those who defame our cinematography is particularly fierce when discussing its party-mindedness and creative method. The British motion picture expert T. Dickinson, who thoroughly condemns the "subordination" of Soviet artists to the party's influence, aims at the main target: "The first film fully approved by the new party line--"Chapayev" (1934)--was a bitter disappointment to the foreign audiences and helped to promote a prejudice for Soviet films as boring, in which everything is known in advance" (T. Dickinson, "A Discovery of Cinema." Oxford University Press, 1971, p 66). With this assertion, Professor Dickinson outstrips the dishonest tricks of many falsifiers of motion picture history. He remains undisturbed by the success enjoyed by "Chapayev" in the foreign screens or the assessment of the film by the bourgeois press of his own country.*

In the journal L'AVANT-SCENE DU CINEMA, E. Chmoulevitch, the French motion picture expert, offers a generally sympathetic review of the film by the brothers Vasil'yev. However, wherever it is a question of the general trend in the creativity of artists and their method, the author objects to socialist realism, claiming that acknowledging "Chapayev" as a lofty example of this method "has imposed a heavy burden on Soviet cinematography by adversely affecting its further development" (No 179, Paris, 1977, p 48).

The hostility of the enemies of socialist realism is refuted by the ever growing role of the film--the flagbearer of this method--on the foreign screens. During the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s alone, it returned to the screen in France, Sweden, Algeria, Italy and other countries. It was seen for the first time by the public in Norway, Angola, Iran and Canada, or more than 20 foreign countries. The truly global significance of the movie by the brothers Vasil'yev, among them "Chapayev" above all, was manifested at the International Symposium of Cinematographic Experts, which was held in the USSR on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, and the conference on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Soviet motion picture, which was held as part of the Moscow International Movie Festival. It was discussed by movie experts from all socialist countries and progressive cinematographers from England, France, Italy, Japan, Finland, Syria and India. A 1978 survey of the greatest movie critics in the world listed "Chapayev" among the "100 best films of all times and nations." In the international arena the film continues to fight for the triumph of humanism, truth and social progress.

The explanation for the ever growing role played by the film "Chapayev," its durability, social influence and place in cinematography should be sought not only in the power of the political thinking of the work and the artistic

talent of its authors but the life-bringing nature of the creative method they used and intensified.

The film "Chapayev" appeared at a most important period in the history of our country and the development of art. The 1930s, which led to radical changes in the material foundations of life, the economy and the class structure of society, also triggered new social requirements concerning the arts. The motion picture acquired an additional most powerful means of influence--sound. The fact that the masters of cinematography turned to socially new features, to the shaping of the new man--the builder of socialism--required radical changes in the artistic language and the poetry of cinematographic epics and montage, which had dominated during the 1920s. Mastering new means in the artistic study of life, which would make it possible to recognize and express the nature of the age not through a collective hero or the movement of the masses but through a spiritual world and the development of the human character and mentality, became an important task. The fact that the motion picture firmly addressed itself to such problems was a confirmation of its growth, enrichment and assumption of the positions of a unified method. The increased attention which was paid at that time to problems of the theory of art and the very appearance of the concept of "socialist realism" confirm the advent of a new stage in the development of the creative method as a realistic way of thinking based on social experience.

The film made by the brothers Vasil'yev, which marked the triumph of the "cinematography of the individual," turned a new page in the history of the Soviet motion picture. Prior to the film "Chapayev," there had not been in cinematography such a live, multidimensional and extremely purposeful film, despite its entire contradictory nature and social orientation. For the first time the revolutionary epic acquired a hero of such dimensions and artistic power.

The film was a powerful and concentrated expression of the artistic demands of the time, for which reason it became the flag bearer of socialist realism in cinematography and the flag of an entire stage in its development.

The new creative method provided extremely broad scope for the daringly bold efforts of the Vasil'yevs. Their concept was imbued with a spirit of innovation. For the first time the character was to blend the hero of an epic legend with his realistic depiction. A combination had to be found among historicism and the biographic and typifying nature of the character, as well as new principles for depicting battle scenes which showed the person; the character of the revolutionary people had to be presented in a novel fashion; a clever and strong enemy had to be pictured. A great deal of the material was of a polemical nature in the area of cinematography and destroyed stereotyped audience perceptions.

Relying on the creative possibilities and synthesizing power of socialist realism, the authors made a number of essential discoveries. Showing the interconnection between people and events was the most important among them. This determined the innovative nature of the topic, which blended epic with drama and which presented a vivid gallery of individual characters against the background of historical events. S. Eyzenshteyn wrote that on the high road

of the development of art the combination of a passionate saturation of events ("The Battleship Potemkin") with the passion of involved characters ("Mother") began to crystallize as a programmatic point and that it was the film "Chapayev" which was the first to achieve this synthesis. The film offers splendid examples of the synthesizing power of the method in many other areas of creativity as well. The blending of the legendary character of Chapay with the realistic earthiness with which the character was interpreted involved a variety of artistic systems used in the interpretation of reality. The Vasil'yevs blended within a single character their hero both as he was and he was he had to be. They organically combined methods triggered by the turn to sound pictures with its detailed "prosaic" narration, with the poetic means and high graphic standards developed by the silent movies. Their new poetry encompassed the most valuable traditions of the montage-poetic cinematography, the best films of which were an expression of socialist realism of the period.

The flow of life itself can be seen in this truly actors' motion picture, in which Babochkin presents with unsurpassable talent the human spirit of his character, a film in which we are endlessly astounded by the skill and harmony of acting, vividly presented. In giving priority to the actors and letting the viewers alone with their characters, the directors have presented this encounter in a new fashion and have concealed their own presence in such a way that even true experts took a long time to unravel their secret. The directors used emotion, lyricism and warm humor, displaying the full wealth of meanings of life. The truthfulness of the characters' behavior, the naturalness of the environment and the "artlessness" of the scenes created such a degree of accuracy in reflecting reality that to most viewers the film "Chapayev" became like a window which opens to life. The truth and beauty in the film are manifested also in the fact that this life is depicted in its dynamics, in its revolutionary development. The characters do not remain at all static. The core of the film "Chapayev," which triggers the most profound interest of the audience, is found in the processes showing the growth of the people, the birth and development of their new consciousness and changes in the structure of their feelings. The extent to which the Vasil'yevs used this creative principle is particularly noticeable in comparing the film to the book by Dm. Furmanov, on which it was based. Its character is acutely socially minded, bright and colorful. With all of this, however, the writer did not set himself the task of bringing to light his inner dynamics: from his first encounter with the commissar to the end of the story Chapayev remains the same. Each new scene is one more facet in the hero's character. What matters to the directors is to depict the hero in motion, in the course of revolutionary change. From beginning to end, Chapayev covers a long distance. He grows as a commander of new type, as an individual. The same principle is applied in depicting the environment which created this character. Development becomes essential in interpreting the topic of the people in the motion picture. The creative method used by the directors, common to both the book and the motion picture, is intensified and enriched. The Vasil'yevs introduced new features in the development of the most important category of the creative method--the principle of national characteristics.

Aleksandr Dovzhenko was among the first to draw attention to the exceptional importance of one of these features. He admired the fact that the Vasil'yevs

have shown to the country the blossoming of the people's genius, "the genius of the huge creative masses which had made the revolution and are creating today the second five-year plan" (A. Dovzhenko, "Sobr. Soch." [Collected Works] in four volumes. Volume 4. Moscow, 1969, p 60). This sensitive artist felt and expressed the most important aspect of the contemporary ring of the work. The film was consistent with the new feature in the people's self-awareness, introduced by the labor heroics of the five-year plans and the exploits of polar expeditions, navigators in space and pilots. The powerful response which their great accomplishments met in the people was as strong as what the conquest of space was to the Soviet people in the 1960s. The Chelyuskin epic, which was an embodiment of the high humanism of our society, and Chkalov's subsequent heroic flight to America across the North Pole were welcomed with a feeling of tremendous emotional intensity. From viewpoint of social psychology, these events and the success of the film "Chapayev" are related phenomena. In the same way that in the features of the new living heroes the country seemed to have embraced the most valuable accomplishments of humankind, the people adopted and took up works of art in which the same precious features were expressed with unparalleled artistic power. The ideas, motifs and emotional tonality of the film and its characters were consistent with the new Soviet character which was developing, with its willpower, aggressive spirit and firmness. The film's emotional tonality was in harmony with the spiritual climate of the country. It was consistent with the basic popular concepts of heroism and the heroic, goodness, beauty, justice and nobility. It carried the live baton of revolutionary traditions. Inevitably, the question of the co-authorship between cinematographers and the audience arises here. The Vasil'yevs sensitively felt the pulsebeat of popular life. They were artists who felt the keen sensations of the audience. They could not conceive of any self-expression, natural to authors, without contact with the audience. S. Vasil'yev described the happiness and joy which filled the hearts of the authors when they moved among the audiences after the showing of the film: they could see that the thoughts and feelings of those people were the thoughts and feelings which they themselves had experienced during their work. They believed that "the most outstanding feature of an artist in the land of the soviets is the feeling of total unity with the audience" (collection "Za Bol'shoye Kinoiskusstvo" [For Great Cinematography]. Moscow, 1935, p 112).

The new higher level of ties between art and the people's life was manifested in the merger of two streams--the thoughts of the artist and the audience. This was a manifestation of a new stage achieved by the masters of cinematography in reaching the high level of national character outlined by Lenin in describing the basic roots linking art with the broad toiling masses, the need for art to be understood and loved by these masses and the task of combining the feelings, willpower, and thoughts of such masses and to enhance them.

The national nature of the artistic content of the film was enhanced by its clarity. The Vasil'yevs purposely strove for a crystal clarity of form, which contributed to the nationwide acceptance of the film.

This they were able to achieve. The unanimously enthusiastic response of millions of people to their film made from open party positions, expressed

the aspirations and ideals of the proletarian vanguard and confirmed the total victory of these ideals in Soviet society and its enhancement to the level of the people's consciousness. This factor was directly related to the question of party-mindedness of the work. Everything which our science invests in this concept--the lofty Marxist-Leninist outlook as a decisive prerequisite in defining the truth of life, the frank defense of class positions and communist ideals and the live passion of the artist--is all highly present in the Vasil'yev's work. In speaking of the spiritual enthusiasm, without which the viewer cannot be "fired up," let us emphasize the firm belief displayed by the Vasil'yevs, who were nonparty artists, in the wisdom and justice of the party's cause. On their approach to the film "Chapayev," they wrote that "...it is the obligation of the revolutionary artist to work on the basic topics of our time. We tried to find a topic which would be truly basic, central. We stopped on the party's role, for everything we have today is the result of the wise and able party leadership. It was this topic which excited and inspired us" (collection, "Chapayev. The Film." Moscow, 1936, p 54). It was the concerned party leadership of art which they experienced as artists. "The film 'Chapayev,' they wrote in the studio newspaper KADR, "is our answer to the party's decree on the restructuring of the literary-artistic organizations." In the course of the filming they frequently felt the party's attention and support in creative matters. The scenario and the film were created with extremely limited help from the studio and Main Editing Administration. This made even more noticeable the fact that their work was discussed by the motion picture commission of the party's Central Committee Organization Bureau, which dealt with the filming of literary scenarios. The commission, which was headed by A. I. Stetskiy, was guided by Lenin's behest. It involved all the party members in review and consultation work. The approval of the scenario by the commission was a happy event for the Vasil'yevs. They paid great attention to the advice given by one of the commission members, who recommended that the treatment of the scene the "row" handled by Chapayev in the cavalry squadron be changed. This helped them to find the precise and impressive solution we saw on the screen. Subsequently, it was thanks to K. Ye. Voroshilov's support that they were able to defend the scene of repulsing the "mental attack" from those who wanted to play it safe.

The Vasil'yevs imbued their film with infinite faith in the party's leadership. The party-mindedness of their stance is manifested in the manner in which they display and resolve the conflicts. Such conflicts are frequently caused by the most sensitive problems of party policy--the attitude toward the peasantry, revolutionary discipline and legality and arguments on the role which political commissars play in the building of the armed forces. Commissar Furmanov, the party's delegate to the division, helps Chapayev and his soldiers to reject anarchic feelings and strengthens discipline and order in the division. He is helped in this by volunteers in the detachment, who are weavers from Ivanovo-Voznesensk (the young Komsomol member who brought the news of plunder in the countryside, the sentry who arrests the squad commander and does not allow the division commander himself to see him, and others).

The film Chapayev became one of the first truly Leninist motion pictures. It was Leninist not only because the thoughts of its characters frequently turned to Vladimir Il'ich but, above all, because the entire film shows the Leninist style and method of party education work. Unlike some commissars in leather

jackets, who mouth political truths on the screen, the party envoy in the film "Chapayev" acts not through sermons but through personal example. The audience can see and feel the victory of Lenin's truth in the people. Here Leninism is presented as a sum of Ideas, a feeling, a live human passion and a practical activity in the reorganization of the world. The tremendous truth of life and beauty of creation are found in the way the people rise and straighten up and abandon their previous errors and prejudices. A story about the party, imbued with such a human content and wealth of feelings, could not fail to touch the viewers' heart.

As an aesthetic category the party-mindedness of the work is manifested in depicting not only the truthfulness but the beauty of the party's cause.

The question which arises in the film of "Where should the commander be?" and Chapayev's answer "If necessary, I personally will lead," open yet another facet: the heroics of party duty and action and the power of the personal example, which developed in the course of history into the moral law of Lenin's party: "Communists, forward!"

A great deal is being written today on the ideological and moral significance of the film and its artistic qualities and influence on the development of cinematography before and since the war. The film "Chapayev" has been described as the "film of the century," the "companion of generations," the "people's film" and "the peak." All of this is accurate and true. Today it is important to emphasize also that despite the numerous innovations and changes in cinematographic language, developed in the course of decades, the film has not lost its impressive artistic force even by an iota. It is viewed with the same interest and emotion. Like any truly great motion picture classic, every time it opens to the audience something new, giving it a charge of optimism, energy and the happiness which comes from exposure to beautiful art.

The film "Chapayev" came to the screen several months after the First Soviet Writers' Congress, which proclaimed socialist realism the basic creative method in Soviet literature. Work on the film was drawing to an end while the congress was taking place. The fact that a work was born which became the flag bearer of socialist realism in cinematography is the best proof that the party, which armed the artistic intelligentsia with a new creative method, theoretically summed up the most progressive and advanced features of the creative practice of all types of Soviet art.

At the anniversary plenum of the board of the USSR Writers' Union, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said the following on the profound similarity and single trend of party ideological-political work and the new ideas it formulates, on the one hand, and the creative work of men of literature and the arts: "Using their own means, they must assert that same approach to life and its problems which the party supports and for which it struggles. Incidentally, a brief definition of the essence of this approach is found in the well-familiar words socialist realism."

In his speech the head of the party and the Soviet government also mentioned achievements on the artistic front: "...Under our own eyes works are becoming

part of Soviet and world classics which will outlive their time and will truthfully describe it to our descendants. I would be accurate in saying that the most precise criterion of successes in literature and art as a whole is the actual extent of the influence which they have on shaping the ideological and moral aspect of the people."

The film "Chapayev"--one of the great creations of Soviet classics--has assumed a noticeable place in the people's life and has had an ineradicable influence on molding the image and character of many Soviet generations.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the film "Chapayev" in the education of new generations of viewers and the further development of cinematography. Its lessons are important in resolving the problems formulated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Enhancement of the Ideological and Artistic Standard of Motion Pictures and Strengthening the Material and Technical Base of Cinematography." As this document, which is programmatic for cinematography, indicates, "the artistic experience of the outstanding masters of the Soviet screen is of lasting importance" in enhancing the standard of motion pictures. "The cinematographers have the duty and obligation to rely on the best traditions and to enrich them with new creative accomplishments."

The tradition of the brothers Vasil'yev and the lessons of their immortal film "Chapayev" are particularly close to our cinematographers of today, who are continuing to develop and intensify the trend of the political film in another most important respect. In his speech to the men of Soviet culture, Comrade K. U. Chernenko called for "drawing the even deeper attention of the masters of the arts to the military-patriotic topic," and expressed the wish "that such work become more frequently a true event in the country's artistic life and in the development of Soviet literature and art."

The history of the birth of this "film of the century" contains valuable bits of experience needed for increasing the creative potential of all Soviet art and waging a persistent and principle-minded struggle against manifestations of monotony and impersonality and reaching a profound idea-mindedness, civic-mindedness and high level of artistic skill, which is the main requirement of the party and the people toward socialist art.

FOOTNOTE

1. Following are several lines from such references: "This is the most noteworthy Russian sound motion picture, which shows a development not only of techniques but of thoughts.... It cannot be considered entertainment. It calls for thoughtful study" (MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, 11 February 1935). "Al-though Russian, this is an objective motion picture. The 'other side' is depicted not only with its shortcomings but its good qualities as well. This is the best proof that the Russian government has acquired a new common sense and a new confidence" (NEWS CHRONICLE, 12 February 1935). "'Chapayev' helps us to understand Russia better than any other film" (THE SUNDAY TIMES, 31 May 1942).

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CSO: 1802/4

NEW PATRIOTIC WAR DOCUMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 84 (signed to press 29 Oct 84) pp 60-75

[Text] The thundering and glorious code name of the greatest of the victorious strategic offensives conducted by the Soviet armed forces in 1944--the Belorussian operation--was Bagration.

As a result of the successful winter and spring offensives, the Red Army and Navy routed strong strategic enemy groups operating in the areas of Leningrad, Right-Bank Ukraine and the Crimea. Having restored the USSR state border along a 400-kilometer length, the Soviet troops entered Romanian territory. With the strategic initiative firmly in their hands, the Soviet armed forces successfully cleared the native soil from the occupation forces, bringing closer the day of final victory over the enemy.

After stubborn offensive winter and spring battles in eastern Belorussia, the position of the two sides at the central sector of the Soviet-German front stabilized.

By the end of 22 June, the front line passed east of Polotsk, Vitebsk, Orsha, Mogilev and Bobruysk and, further along the Pripyat River, to Kovel. Here the Soviet forces were opposed by the most powerful enemy group: the right-flank formations of the 16th Army of the Group of Armies North, the Groups of Armies Center, consisting of the Third Tank and Fourth, Ninth and Second Field Armies and the left-flank formations of the Fourth Tank Army, which were part of the Northern Ukraine Group of Armies, or a total of 63 divisions and three brigades. These formations totaled 1.2 million men, more than 9,500 guns and howitzers, 900 tanks and assault guns and about 1,350 aircraft. Topographic advantages--a large number of rivers, lakes, swamps and forests--allowed the Hitlerite military command to develop a strong defense system. The enemy forces were holding deeply echeloned defense lines prepared in advance, based on a vast system of fortifications.

All of this created great difficulties for the forthcoming large-scale offensive by the Soviet forces. Nevertheless, as early as the spring of 1944, Supreme Command Headquarters had determined that Belorussia would be the direction of the main strike for the summer campaign. The decision was dictated by two circumstances. First, the liberation of Belorussia opened the shortest way to Germany. Second, it was considered that the enemy would not

expect a decisive strike in this sector, for the nature of the topography, as assessed by the Hitlerite strategists, prevented the concentrated use of tanks.

The liberation of Belorussia and reaching the western border of our homeland, as conceived by the Soviet command, were to contribute to the subsequent routing of the enemy in the western part of the Ukraine, in the Baltic area and in East Prussia, and to the success of the Normandy landing of the Allies.

The increased combat power of the Soviet armed forces, the availability of vast reserves, which created a considerable superiority over the enemy, particularly in terms of airpower, artillery, and tanks, and the advantageous configuration of the front line, were taken into consideration in determining the direction of the main strike. This, as well as the nature of the topography, determined the main concept of the operation: by boldly concentrating the forces in the directions of the main strikes, to split the enemy defenses simultaneously at several points, to be followed by his encirclement and the destruction of his main formations.

These tasks were assigned with the directives of Supreme Command Headquarters of 31 May 1944 (see documents Nos 1, 2, 3 and 4).

The forces of the following four fronts were involved in the Belorussian operation: First Baltic (Army General I. Kh. Bagramyan commanding), Third Belorussian (Army General I. D. Chernyakhovskiy commanding), Second Belorussian (Col General G. F. Zakharov commanding) and First Belorussian (Army General K. K. Rokossovskiy commanding), the Long-Range Aviation and the Dnepr Navy Flotilla. These forces totaled more than 1.4 million combat personnel, 31,000 guns and howitzers, 5,200 tanks and rocket launchers and 5,300 combat aircraft.

Following a powerful artillery and aviation barrage, on the morning of 23 June the main forces of the First Baltic and Second and Third Belorussian fronts launched their decisive offensive. After breaching the enemy defenses north and south of Vitebsk, and as a result of their headlong offensive, the forces of the First Baltic and Third Belorussian fronts surrounded and totally liquidated the Vitebsk enemy group and captured Vitebsk on 26 June.

The forces of the first Belorussian front began their offensive on the morning of 24 June. By the end of 25 June the enemy defenses were breached. The further advance converged on Bobruysk, as a result of which the front forces sealed the ring around the Bobruysk enemy group. Battles until the final liquidation of the fascist forces in Bobruysk was achieved continued until 29 June. On that day, having completed the routing of the surrounded group, the front forces liberated the city. The operations of the Dnepr Flotilla, commanded by Capt 1st Rank V. V. Grigor'yev, assisted the fast advance of the land forces and the liberation of Bobruysk and Pinsk.

The partisans, who struck at enemy rear lines and communications, were of great help to our forces.

The Hitlerite command was unable to stop the Soviet forces along any one of the main directions and to conduct an orderly retreat.

Rapidly advancing, the main forces of the First Baltic Front reached the approaches of Polotsk and captured Lepel by the end of the day on 28 June. The forces of the Second Belorussian Front, which developed their offensive, captured Mogilev, the large oblast Belorussian center, the same day.

In continuing to pursue the retreating enemy, on 30 June and 1 July the forces of the Third Belorussian Front crossed the Berezina River and occupied Borisov. On 2 July units of the Third Belorussian Front joined the battle for Molodechno and on 3 July, interacting with the forces of the First Belorussian Front liberated Minsk--the capital of Soviet Belorussia. A large enemy group of forces, which was part of the Group of Armies Center (see documents Nos 7 and 10) was surrounded and destroyed as a result of the successful advance of our forces in the vast area southeast of Minsk.

The forces of the First Baltic Front liberated Polotsk and continued their advance toward Shyaulyay. On 13 July the forces of the Third Belorussian Front liberated Vilnius, the capital of the Lithuanian SSR, and reached the Neman on 15 July; they crossed the river along a wide front and established bridgeheads on its western bank. Units and formations of the Second Belorussian Front successfully advanced in a westerly direction.

Developing their success, by 27 July the Soviet forces reached the Zapadnyy Bug, encircling the enemy in the Brest area from the north and the northwest. The forces of the First Belorussian Front captured the city and fortress of Brest--an important railroad center and a powerfully fortified defense area of the Germans in the Warsaw direction--on 28 July (see document No 15).

The liberation of Belorussian territory from the fascist aggressors was completed as a result of the offensive operations mounted by the Soviet forces.

Extensive party political work was carried out in the preparations for and during the Belorussian operation. This greatly contributed to the success of this decisive offensive. The appeals of military councils to the troops, the texts of which were distributed to soldiers, sergeants and officers several hours prior to the general offensive, played an important role. They explained the specific political tasks of the offensive and called upon the entire personnel to implement them in an exemplary fashion (see documents Nos 5 and 6).

Problems of intensifying agitation and propaganda work were discussed in all units and formations and at conferences of the command and political personnel. Various ways and means were used in the course of party-political work: rallies, meetings, oral and printed propaganda, popularization of the heroic exploits of troops, letters to the parents praising distinguished fighters, and presentation of awards on the battlefield. The chronicle of the battles for the liberation of Belorussia include many outstanding pages which describe the exploits of Soviet soldiers and officers. Members of various nationalities in our multinational homeland were models of courage and

heroism; as always, the communists were in the leading ranks of distinguished troops and commanders (see documents No 8, 9, 12, 13, 14 and 16).

These documents are stored in the USSR Ministry of Defense Central Archive. They were prepared for publication by Maj Gen N. I. Lutsev, chief of the USSR TsAMO [Ministry of Defense Central Archive] and Lt Col V. I. Kovalev, department chief in the archives. Most of the documents are published for the first time.

Abbreviations

A	army
ak	army corps
lap	light artillery regiment
md	motorized division
oiptd	separate fighter-antitank battery
okhrd	security division
pd	infantry division
PTK	antitank gun
sb	infantry battalion
sd	infantry division
sk	infantry corps
sp	infantry regiment
sr	infantry company
TA	tank army
td	tank division
tk	tank corps
UR	fortified area

Document No 1

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on the Preparations for and Conduct of the Operation on Routing the Vitebsk-Lepel Enemy Grouping

To the Commander of the Troops of the First Baltic Front
31 May 1944

Supreme Command Headquarters Order

1. Prepare and mount an operation with a view to routing the Vitebsk-Lepel enemy grouping, interacting with the Third Belorussian Front, and reach the southern bank of Zapadnaya Dvina in the Chashniki and Lepel sector, for which purpose the forces of the Sixth Guards and 43rd Army will breach the enemy defenses in the area southwest of Gorodok, striking jointly in the direction of Beshenkovichi and Chashniki.

The immediate target is to cross the Zapadnaya Dvina and capture the Beshenkovichi area. Interacting with the right wing of the Third Belorussian Front, part of the forces must rout the Vitebsk grouping and capture Vitebsk. The offensive is to be developed subsequently in the general direction of Lepel. The main front grouping advancing toward Polotsk must be given strong support....

Supreme Command Headquarters

J. Stalin

Zhukov

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. [Archive] 235, op. [list] 2,074, d. [file] 62, 11. [sheets] 7-9.

Document No 2

From the Supreme Command Headquarters Directive on the Preparations for and Mounting the Operation on Routing the Vitebsk-Orsha Enemy Grouping

To the Commander of the Forces of the Third Belorussian Front
31 May 1944

Supreme Command Headquarters Order:

1. Prepare and mount an operation with a view to routing the Vitebsk-Orsha enemy grouping, interacting with the left wing of the First Baltic Front and the Second Belorussian Front, and reach the Berezina River, for which purpose to breach the enemy defenses with two strikes:

a. The first strike with the forces of the 39th and Fifth Armies from the area west of Liozno in the general direction of Bogushevskoye and Senno; part of the forces of this grouping will advance in a northwesterly direction, bypassing Vitebsk from the southwest, with a view to routing the Vitebsk enemy grouping and capturing the city of Vitebsk, interacting with the left flank of the First Baltic Front;

b. The second strike will be made with the forces of the 11th Guards and 31st Army along the Minsk highway in the general direction of Borisov; part of the forces of this grouping will capture the town of Orsha with a strike from the north.

2. The immediate task of the front forces is to reach the Senno, Orsha line. Subsequently they must develop their offensive toward Borisov with a view to routing the Borisov enemy grouping, interacting with the Second Belorussian Front, and reach the west bank of the Berezina in the Borisov sector....

Supreme Command Headquarters

J. Stalin

Zhukov

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 3, op. 11,556, d. 15, 11. 288-289

Document No 3

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on the Preparations for and Mounting of the Operation for Routing the Mogilev Enemy Grouping

To the Commander of the Forces of the Second Belorussian Front
31 May 1944

Supreme Command Headquarters Order:

1. Prepare and mount an operation with a view to defeating the Mogilev enemy grouping, interacting with the left wing of the Third Belorussian Front and the right wing of the First Belorussian Front, and reach the Berezina River, for which purpose the forces of no fewer than 11 or 12 reinforced infantry divisions will breach the enemy defenses, striking jointly from the area of Dribin, Dednya and Ryasna in the general direction of Mogilev and Belynichi.

The immediate task is to reach the Dnepr and to capture bridgeheads on its west bank. Subsequently, the Dnepr must be crossed by the main forces. Mogilev must be seized and the offensive must be developed in the general direction of Berezino and Smilovichi....

Supreme Command Headquarters

J. Stalin
Zhukov
Copy
TsAMO USSR, f. 3, op. 11,556, d. 15, ll. 282-283.

Document No 4

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on the Preparations for and Mounting of the Operation for Routing the Bobruysk Enemy Grouping

To the Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front
31 May 1944

Supreme Command Headquarters Order:

1. Prepare and mount an operation with a view to routing the Bobruysk enemy grouping and emerge with the main forces in the Osipovichi, Pukhovichi and Slutsk sector, for which purpose breach enemy defenses with two strikes: the first, with the forces of the Third and 48th Armies from the Rogachev sector in the general direction of Bobruysk and Osipovichi; the second, with the forces of the 65th and 28th Armies from the area of the lower reaches of the Berezina River and Ozarichi in the general direction of Star. Dorogi and Slutsk.

The immediate task is to crush the Bobruysk enemy grouping and to capture the Bobruysk, Glusha and Glusk sector. The right flank of some of the forces will interact with the forces of the Second Belorussian Front in routing the Mogilev enemy grouping. Subsequently, the offensive must develop with a view to reaching the Pukhovichi, Slutsk and Osipovichi sector....

Supreme Command Headquarters

J. Stalin
Zhukov
Copy
TsAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2356, d. 26, ll. 57, 58

Document No 5

From the Leaflet-Appeal of the Military Council of the Third Belorussian Front to the Front Forces in Connection With the Start of the Belorussian Offensive Operation

22 June 1944

Comrades Soldiers, Sergeants and Officers of the Res Army!

In implementing the order of the Supreme Command, today the forces of your front are mounting a decisive offensive against the enemy.

The country has assigned to us the great and most honorable task of completing, together with the entire Red Army, the project of totally clearing the Soviet soil from the Hitlerite filth. The motherland, the Soviet people...have given us the sacred order of advancing and crushing the enemy and marching only forward and forward!

Valorous troops!

Lying ahead of you is the suffering Soviet Belorussia, tortured by the fascists. The fascist monsters are scoffing at the enslaved Soviet people, brutally killing helpless women, old people and children. The fascists have turned blossoming Belorussian cities and villages into ashes and ruins. They have wrecked the gardens and turned them into death camps for our sisters and brothers. They have destroyed historical monuments and set up scaffolds. Native Belorussia is moaning under the fascist yoke, calling upon you to be merciless in your revenge.

The time for stern reckoning has come!

We are marching forward for the liberation of Soviet Belorussia. Victory over the enemy today is closer than ever before. In the past year and a half the Soviet Army has liberated more than three-quarters of temporarily occupied Soviet territory. It has crossed the great victorious distance from the Volga and the foothills of the Caucasus to the Seret River and the Carpathian Mountains. In the north, the Red Army has brilliantly breached the powerful enemy defense lines and captured the Vyborg fortress. The Mannerheim line, with its thousands of pillboxes and all sorts of modern defensive installations, which the enemy had declared unbreachable, was breached by the Soviet troops in a single day. The crushing blows inflicted by the Red Army have put fascist Germany on the brink of catastrophe....

Comrade Red Armymen, sergeants and officers!

Your battle flags are covered with the glory of heroic victories. You have written many brilliant pages in the history of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. The homeland expects of you new military exploits. The homeland has faith in the valor and courage of its sons, in your strength and ability to defeat the hated enemy. The salvation and lives of hundreds of thousands of Soviet people are in your hands. Be worthy of these great hopes and trust! Hit the enemy without mercy or fatigue! Avenge everything: our destroyed cities and villages, the slain mothers and fathers, violated wives, sisters and brides; the slain, burned and maimed helpless and totally innocent children; the comrades who fell in battle. Seek revenge from the fascists for every day of suffering and pain experienced by our people. May your strikes be headlong, precise and merciless.

Forward, to the west, valorous soldiers!

Forward for the liberation of our native Belorussia!...

Front Military Council

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 241, op. 2656, d. 51, ll. 375, 375 reverse

Document No 6

From the Leaflet-Appeal of the Military Council of the Third Belorussian Front to the Front Forces, Calling for the Definitive Routing of the Enemy in Belorussia

1 July 1944

Comrade Red Armymen, Sergeants, Officers and Generals of the Third Belorussian Front!

The Red Army...marked the third anniversary of the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War by converting to a decisive offensive against the German aggressors.

The valorous Soviet forces hurled themselves at the enemy like an avalanche, liberating our land from the German aggressors. The enemy defenses--steel and concrete, trenches, fences, antitank obstacles, escarpments, barbed wire and mine fields--were swept off by the Red Army. In 8 days of victorious combat, the troops of the First, Second and Third Belorussian and First Baltic Fronts, having crossed the Dnepr, Berezina and Zapadnaya Dvina, liberated the major oblast centers of Vitebsk and Mogilev and the cities of Orsha, Lepel, Osipovichi, Bykhov, Zhlobin, Bobruysk, Bogushevsk and others. All in all, we have already liberated from the fascist yoke more than 6,000 settlements in suffering Belorussia.

...For successes achieved in the battles troops, sergeants, officers and generals of our front were thanked on three separate occasions by Comrade Stalin. On three occasions the homeland saluted you, the forces of the Third Belorussian Front.

Honor and glory to those who distinguished themselves in the battles!

Comrade soldiers, sergeants, officers and generals!... Minsk, Belostok and Brest and thousands of villages and hamlets in Belorussia lie ahead, awaiting their liberation from the fascist yoke. The tears and blood shed by our Soviet people demand of us to take sacred revenge from the Hitlerite executioners. The days of decisive combat have come, combat for totally clearing the Soviet land from German aggressors. The hour of victory is near. The enemy is retreating under the pressure of the Red Army. The fascists are running to the West, abandoning equipment and surrendering by the thousands.

Now we have the opportunity to turn the success of the first days of our offensive into the total routing of the evil enemy. All that is needed to this effect is to prevent the enemy from organizing, to pursue and hit at the Germans without stop, to catch up with and to destroy the enemy wherever he may be. Speed and daring in combat will ensure our further successes. Do not allow the enemy to collect himself. Tirelessly strike stunning blows, outstrip the Germans in capturing advantageous positions and crossings, prevent them from converting to organized defense! Surround and destroy the Hitlerite filth with daring maneuvers!

The Military Council of the Third Belorussian Front calls upon you, comrade soldiers, sergeants, officers and generals, to muster all your strength and ability for the fast and decisive routing of the enemy.

Forward, for the full defeat of the Hitlerite gang!...

Long live our victory!...

Military Council of the Third Belorussian Front
Original
TsAMO USSR, f. 241, op. 2656, d. 51, ll. 373, 373 reverse

Document No 7

Report by the Commander of the Forces of the Third Belorussian Front on the Capture of Minsk

To Supreme Command Headquarters, Comrade Stalin

3 July 1944, 12:25 hours

At 9 am on 3 July, the forces of the 31st Army and the Second Guards Tatsinskiy Tank Corps, interacting with the Fifth (Guards) Tank Army, and after headlong offensive and a bypass maneuver from the northwest, captured the capital of Belorussia, the city of Minsk.

Chernyakhovskiy,²
Makarov,³
Pokrovskiy⁴

Original

Document No 8

From the Political Report of the Political Administration of the First Belorussian Front on Presenting Awards on the Battlefield and Announcing the Names of Their Recipients Awarded During the Offensive

To Colonel General Comrade Sheherbakov, Chief of the Main Political Administration of the Red Army

Copy to the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

10 July 1944

In the period between 24 and 30 June 1944, government awards (orders and medals) were presented to the infantry formations of 65 armies, on the battlefield, as follows: to 699 privates, sergeants and officers, awarded for model performance of combat assignments issued by the command in the offensive battles. Within the same period, a total of 155 orders and medals were awarded on the battlefield in four infantry divisions of the 48th Army; 430 orders and medals were awarded in infantry formations and units of the 28th Army. All in all, between 24 and 30 June government awards were presented to 1,284 people on the battlefield.

...From the very first day of the offensive it was suggested that the award and presentation of awards be so organized as to enhance the offensive thrust of the troops. A person who has committed an exploit today should be rewarded immediately and the award should be presented no later than during the next morning. The results of 6 days of offensive indicate that a number of commanders and political workers in formations and units have properly implemented instructions on presenting awards on the battlefield and popularizing the names of the recipients.

...The political workers are extensively popularizing the combat exploits of those awarded and nominated for government awards. Whenever circumstances permit, meetings are held by the personnel on the occasion of the presentation of governmental awards. For example, at a regimental meeting held at the 471st sp 73rd sd, organized by Comrade Vas'kovich, deputy regimental commander for political affairs, a government award was presented to Senior Sergeant Gryshkovets who, while crossing a water obstacle, without waiting for the arrival of the engineers, disarmed and removed eight antitank and three antipersonnel mines set on the bridge by the fascists, in the course of 15 minutes, thus ensuring the advance of the regiment. Comrade Gryshkovets is a medical instructor.

Reports dated 28 June 1944 described the most popular, flexible and intelligible forms of popularizing those who have distinguished themselves in battle (chain information on awards, letters of congratulation and postcards sent to the recipients and their families, etc.). These forms of popularization are extensively applied currently as well. For example, 15

congratulatory cards were written at the 1,514th sq. (T-34), one copy of which was presented to the troops and another sent to their families....

Major General Galadzhev, chief of the political administration of the First Belorussian Front

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2374, d. 22, ll. 68-71

Document No. 3

From the Political Report of the Political Administration of the First Belorussian Front on the Heroism Shown by Party Members in the Battles for Belorussia

To Comrade Shcherbakov, Chief of the Red Army Main Political Administration, Moscow

10 July 1944

...In the battles for Orsha, tank commander party member Antonov acted heroically. Having received his combat assignment, he drove his roaring tank forward and was the first to enter enemy lines. The battle was joined. The enemy used artillery and howitzers, followed by self-propelling Ferdinand guns. Antonov was not frightened. Skillfully maneuvering and firing on the march, he set fire to the leading enemy self-propelling gun and the others turned back and hid. The courageous tankman then broke through the positions of the howitzers and crushed with his tank the howitzer enemy battery and a six-tube enemy mortar and destroyed almost an entire Hitlerite squad. After loader Kulishenko was wounded, party member Antonov took his place while continuing to control the fire. Tank Commander Antonov was severely wounded in the battle. Despite his pain, he used all his strength in obeying the order of the command.

...Guards Lieutenant Kharchenko, VKP(b) member and master of tank reconnaissance, was assigned a reconnaissance mission as our tank units approached Minsk. Moving ahead and making skillful use of the terrain, Kharchenko not only reconnoitered the area and the enemy forces but also ensured the seizure of a crossroads closest to the city, thus opening the way for the advance of the entire formation.

The infantry squad commanded by party member Lieutenant Udasskiy acted courageously in the battle for Vitebsk. The squad was assigned the combat task of launching a sudden attack on the enemy defending the approaches to the city in an important direction. The fascists opened heavy fire with mortars and automatic weapons on our troops. The squad fell to the ground. At that critical moment party member Udasskiy stood up and, shouting "Forward, for the homeland!" daringly hurled himself to the attack. The entire squad joined in the example of its commander. The Hitlerites in their shelter were unable to withstand and began to retreat. The squad carried out its combat assignment of occupying an important position, destroyed 24 Hitlerites and captured six.

Infantry company party organizer Private Durdiev is a courageous and daring soldier and a veteran of many battles. His subunit particularly distinguished itself in the battles for Borisov. The fascists resisted fiercely, clinging to a good position. When the battle for the approaches to the city began, Durdiev was the first to hurl himself at the enemy, shouting "For the homeland." He was among the first to penetrate the heavily fortified enemy point and to open accurate fire with his submachine gun on the Hitlerites. He killed six fascists.

...In carrying out a combat assignment, scouts party member Sergeant Dodenko, candidate party member Private 1st Class Fokin and Komsomol member Bobrov...discovered a low bridge across the Dnepr River. The scouts daringly rushed to the bridge and killed the enemy sentry. Sappers party candidate members Zотов, Dunayev and Pivak rapidly cleared the bridge from mines and ensured the crossing of the river by our forces advancing to the western bank.

Twelve JU-88 bombers tried to bomb our units on the march. In repelling the enemy aviation raid, the personnel of a battery of 37 mm guns of the antiaircraft battery commanded by party member Guards Lieutenant Kochiyev, were models of courage and heroism. The gun crews of Guards Senior Sergeant Ivashchenko (candidate party member) and Guards Sergeant Likharev (party member) brought down one enemy airplane each.

...Privates, sergeants and officers who participate in the battles alongside party members wish to be just as courageous and daring. They are submitting petitions for VKP(b) membership.

In his petition for party membership, mechanic driver Demidchik wrote: "I have followed the combat path from Stalingrad onward. I have destroyed many fascists. I will now double my efforts in order to kill as many German-fascist aggressors as possible. I would like to strike at the enemy as a communist. I shall honorably justify the high title of communist." Demidchik was accepted as candidate party member. On the following day, Demidchik distinguished himself in battle. He destroyed two enemy guns and killed as many as 30 Hitlerites....

Major General Kazbintsev, Acting Chief of the Political Administration of the Third Belorussian Front

Original
TsAMO USSR, f. 241, op. 2656, d. 51, ll. 383-387

Document No 10

From the Combat Report of the Commander of the Second Belorussian Front on Completing the Operations on the Destruction of the Surrounded Enemy Grouping in the Area Southeast and South of Minsk

To Comrade Semenov⁵

Copy to Comrade Zharov⁶

13 July 1944, 23:45 hours

1. On 12 July 1944 the forces of the Second Belorussian Front completed the destruction of the surrounded enemy grouping south and southeast of Minsk, which was part of the Group of Armies Center....

3. The main forces of the Second Belorussian Front pursued their headlong advance toward Belostok. One infantry corps each from the 50th and 49th armies was ordered to surround and destroy an enemy group of forces southeast of Minsk. On 10 July, the 49th Army, consisting of seven sd, was assigned the task of definitively routing and liquidating the 100,000-strong surrounded enemy group. On 12 July the army completed the routing and destruction of the surrounded group.

As a result of the battles for the liquidation of the surrounded enemy group units of the 27th, 12th and 35th ak and 39th tk and remnants of the 41st tk were totally taken out of commission and partially captured. The commanding officer of the group was Lieutenant General Muller (commander of the 12th ak).

...After destroying this grouping, between 6 and 12 July the main forces of the front continued their offensive toward Belostok and advanced more than 200 kilometers.

4. As a result of the offensive 34,000 square kilometers of territory and 7,500 settlements, including the cities of Mogilev, Bykhov, Dzerzhinsk, Shklov, Chausy, Novogrudok, Shchuchin, Rudensk, Cherven, Klichev and others were liberated. A total of more than 79 large rayon-level settlements were liberated and a 500-kilometer advance was achieved during the fighting.

Between 23 June and 12 July, 77,190 enemy soldiers and officers were killed and 34,243 captured, including three corps and eight division commanders or a total of 11 generals. A corps staff and six full divisional staffs were captured (including the staff of the Mogilev UR).

...During the same period the front forces totally routed and partially captured the 12th, 31st, 45th, 57th, 78th, 110th, 260th, 267th, 337th and 707th pd, 286th okhrd, 18th td and 60th md....

Elements of the Fourth Army and remnants of the Third Tank and Ninth enemy armies were destroyed.

Colonel General Zakharov, Commander of the Second Belorussian Front

Lieutenant General Mekhlis, Member of the Military Council of the Second Belorussian Front

Lieutenant General Bogolyubov, Chief of Staff of the Second Belorussian Front

Original
TsAMO USSR, f. 237, op. 2394, d. 439, ll. 105-108

Document No 11

From the Report of the Commander of the Dnepr Navy Flotilla on the Results of the Offensive Military Operations on the Berezina River

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Rokossovskiy, Commander of the First Belorussian Front

14 July 1944

...Battles on the Berezina

At dawn on 24 June 1944, in accordance with the order, all combat units of the Berezina River Flotilla participated in the artillery barrage for breaching the enemy defenses.

Interacting with the 65th and 48th armies and the coastal 105th and 53rd corps and acting with them, the ships of the TVF advanced rapidly in combat between 24 and 27 June 1944; by the end of 27 June they reached the immediate vicinity of Bobruysk. During these offensive battles the flotilla ships landed forces behind enemy lines and, together with the 193rd sd, stormed Zdudichi, a center of enemy resistance. After crossing several mined antilaunch obstacles under enemy fire, destroying the enemies' artillery at the crossing by Vorotin village and suppressing artillery batteries at Belcho village, the ships made a surprise raid on the crossing and the enemy firing points at Parichi village, thus significantly helping the units of the 65th army in capturing the strong enemy resistance center.

As a result of the raid, having suppressed the enemy's coastal fire, the ships destroyed the crossing and a substantial amount of enemy equipment and manpower.

The flotilla joined in the general artillery barrage at the Bobruysk approaches.

During the day of 28 June 1944, under enemy fire, the armored launches entered the city limits on two occasions and fired at enemy crossings from a distance of 400 to 500 meters.

At the time the breach was made, the 48th Army landed at the front end of the enemy's defense line within the Bobruysk city limits.

By special assignment of the staff of the First Belorussian Front, the following units were transported across the Berezina on an emergency basis aboard the flotilla ships in the course of 28 June 1944, with their full equipment: the 73rd, 102nd and 217th divisions 29th sk 48th A, the 17th and 96th divisions of the 53rd sk of the 48th A, and the 217th sd which crossed under enemy mortar fire....

On 29 June the armored launches fought their way to the center of Bobruysk where they suppressed the last enemy resistance centers together with Red Army elements.

After the capture of Bobruysk, in accordance with the order, the flotilla rapidly sailed from Bobruysk to the Luninets area, crossing a distance of more than 600 kilometers....

Captain First Rank Grigor'yev, Commander of the Dnepr Navy Flotilla

Captain First Rank Boyarchenko, Member of the Military Council of the Dnepr Navy Flotilla

Original

TSAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2356, d. 3, ll. 166-170

Document No 12

From the Political Report of the Political Administration of the Third Belorussian Front on the Political and Moral Condition of the Front Forces

To Colonel General Comrade Shcherbakov, A. S., Chief of the Main Political Administration of the Red Army

19 July 1944

...The successful offensive operations conducted by the front troops against the German-fascist forces have triggered in the personnel of units and formations an unparalleled upsurge in combat and political activities.... The personnel are acting with exceptional daring and dedication in the battles against the German aggressors, not sparing their lives, obeying the military order and displaying ability and high martial skill.

The Sixth sr 247th Guards sb, 84th Guards sd was assigned the combat task of crushing the enemy defense and reaching Hill 191.6, which was of great importance. After an artillery barrage, the company attacked. However, heavy rifle and machine gun fire from the hill blocked the advance and pinned the troops down without cover. At that critical moment Private Vasil'yev, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, born 1925, nonparty member...turned to the company commander for permission to destroy the enemy machine gun.... Receiving permission, Vasil'yev crawled to the German pillbox and threw a grenade in its direction from a distance of 15 to 20 meters. However, the enemy machine gun continued to fire. At that point Vasil'yev rapidly crossed the remaining 15-20 meters and blocked the pillbox embrasure with his body. The machine gun fell silent. The entire company saw Vasil'yev's heroic behavior and, inspired by his action, unanimously rose to the attack and threw the enemy off the hill. The neighboring subunits profited from the successful actions of the Sixth SR. The enemy's defenses were breached.

...A characteristic feature of the offensive combats is the fact that heroism is displayed not by individual soldiers but entire units and formations. For example, units of the 331st sd were given the combat assignment of crossing the Berezina River. On 30 June division elements assumed their starting positions. The storming of the western bank held by the fascists was scheduled for 1800 hours.... The First and Third Battalions of the 1104th sb prepared fording facilities, for the enemy had blown up or burned all bridges.

Whatever materials were on hand were used to make rafts. At 1800 hours our artillery and jet batteries opened heavy fire on the enemy lines. Meanwhile, infantry subdivisions began to cross the river despite the fact that many of the enemy's fire emplacements were still firing at the crossing troops. The first to reach the enemy shore were snipers Comrades Zhuravlev and Nikitin. They quickly jumped ashore and, selecting advantageous firing positions, opened accurate fire on the closest enemy machine gun emplacements, several of which were destroyed with sniper fire. The snipers and infantrymen were followed across the river by machine gunners Comrades Nazarov, Shaposhnikov, Timofeyev and Kornilov, with two heavy machine guns, and by a PTR squad commanded by Junior Lieutenant Shun'ko. Covered by the fire of elements which had already crossed, the river was crossed by a battery of 76 mm guns. The artillerymen successfully used the crossing facilities to transport their materiel. Pulling the guns ashore, the artillerymen opened direct fire on the enemy's fire emplacements and personnel. The artillerymen crossed the river together with the 7th sr of the 1104th sp in full strength, commanded by Senior Lieutenant Basov. The company attacked the enemy frontally and threw him back from the shore, after which the remaining regimental subunits crossed the river. Major Kiselev and Captain Turkov, respectively commanders of the First and Third sb of the 1104th sp, displayed daring, firmness and good organization in crossing the Berezina. Under heavy enemy fire they were able to cross with virtually no losses.... The enemy, thrown back from the Berezina line, began to retreat toward the city of Borisov. The 1104th sp was among the first to rush into the city and to clear out the enemy. The personnel of the 1104th sp displayed high military skill in street combat, in destroying enemy soldiers who were holding the houses, and in capturing Borisov....

Another clear indicator of the high political and moral spirit of the personnel is the fact that the best people in the units distinguished in the battles have submitted petitions for party membership. From the beginning of the battles--from 23 June to 5 July--321 servicemen submitted petitions for party membership at the 192nd sd; the party bureau accepted 203 people; the division party commission accepted 112 members.

Within that period 269 people of the division became Komsomol members.

Within the same period the 331st sd accepted 113 people in the party.

During the 10-day period of combat, the party organizations in the Fifth Army received some 1,200 requests for party membership, submitted by privates, sergeants and officers....

Major General Kazbintsev, Interim Chief of the Political Administration of the Third Belorussian Front

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 241, op. 2656, d. 51, ll. 405-411

Document No 13

From the Political Report of the Political Administration of the First Belorussian Front on the Courage and Daring of the Personnel Displayed in the Battles for the Liberation of Belorussia.

To Colonel General Comrade Shcherbakov, Chief of the Main Political Administration of the Red Army

9 July 1944

The offensive battles which are currently being waged by the front troops are characterized by displays of mass heroism and daring....

During the battle, Red Army soldier Fedyayev, a scout with the 477th Lap, 2nd Artillery Division, moved ahead to reconnoiter the target. Fifteen fascists threw themselves at him. The courageous soldier did not lose his presence of mind and opened fire at the Hitlerites with his submachine gun. He soon ran out of ammunition. Fedyayev then grabbed the submachine gun from a wounded fascist and continued to wage the uneven battle. He destroyed 10 fascists and the others ran off. Fedyayev captured an enemy motorcycle and a passenger car on the battlefield.

Junior Lieutenant Khazov, commander of a self-propelling gun at the Eighth Self-Propelling Artillery Brigade, riding the self-propelling gun of a squad of submachine gunners, rushed inside enemy lines at high speed and fired at the bridge, thus blocking the retreat of the fascists. His daring attack was supported by other crews of self-propelling guns and infantry. The enemy suffered heavy losses: two dugouts, three guns, three machine guns and as many as 30 enemy soldiers were destroyed.

...Komsomol member Savchenko, commander of a submachine gunners' platoon of the 858th sp, 283rd sd, fought heroically. In an enemy trench he fought three fascists who were trying to capture him. Realizing the hopelessness of his position, the Komsomol member grabbed a hand grenade and threw it at his foes. The hero died but so did the Hitlerites.

Major General Galadzhev, Chief of the Political Administration of the First Belorussian Front

Copy

TsAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2374, d. 23, ll. 247, 249-250

Document No 14

From the Political Report of the Political Administration of the First Baltic Front on the Heroic Exploits Committed by Troops of Different Nationalities in the Offensive Battles

To Colonel General Comrade Shcherbakov, Chief of the Main Political Administration of the Red Army

22 July 1944

Many troops were models of courage and heroism in the struggle for the liberation of our homeland from the German-fascist aggressors in the offensive combats waged by the forces of the First Baltic Front in June-July 1944....

Red Army Infantryman Shakirov, Ulymas Shakirovich, Udmurt, Candidate Party Member (of the formation in which Colonel Shishkin⁷ is chief of the Political Department).

On 23 June, as a member of the assault battalion, Red Army soldier Shakirov attacked enemy fortifications. Shakirov was the first to rush into the enemy trenches with grenades. He killed the fascists in their foxholes with bursts of automatic fire. Daringly engaging in combat with an enemy group, the courageous soldier killed 15 Hitlerites, while 14 others, including two officers, were captured. After the unit reached the Zapadnaya Dvina River, under enemy fire Shakirov was among the first to cross to the opposite bank and to lead the troops. At the captured bridgehead he engaged enemy submachine gunners, a fight which ended to his advantage; he killed 16 Hitlerites, scattered the others and threw them out of the crossing area. Shakirov was nominated for the title of Hero of the Soviet Union for his heroism and courage manifested in fulfilling his combat assignments.

Sergeant Iskhakov, Rukai' Khishchiyevich, Platoon Commander, Tajik, Candidate Party Member (unit in which Colonel Uvarov⁸ is Political Department chief).

After breaching the enemy's defenses, our units launched into headlong pursuit of the retreating enemy. The squad commander fell in the heat of battle. Iskhakov led a group of soldiers forward and engaged the enemy in hand-to-hand combat. The enemy was unable to withstand the bayonet attack and fled in panic. In the course of this battle, the daring soldier killed a fascist officer and two soldiers and blew up an enemy machine gun with hand grenades.... In pursuing the retreating enemy, Iskhakov displayed model military valor and daring. He personally killed 10 Hitlerites and captured three others. The enemy tried to stop the advance of our units in the sector of the Krupenino settlement and to retain the Vitebsk-Lepel road. In this area the enemy mounted several strong counterattacks. In carrying out the order of the command, Comrade Iskhakov deployed the squad personnel properly and when the fascists mounted their counterattack they were met with volley fire. The enemy retreated in a disorderly fashion after losing as many as 30 soldiers. In pursuing the enemy, Comrade Iskhakov's squad made a significant advance and cut off the road along which a large column of motorized vehicles was retreating. The vehicles on both sides of the column were set afire and the column was routed. Twenty-five trucks carrying military ordnance were captured....

Private Submachine Gunner Khanidulin, Magim Tsafigulinovich, Bashkir, nonparty member (unit in which Lieutenant Colonel Tolstobrov¹⁰ is chief of political department).

On 25 June 1944, Khanidulin was among the first in his subunit to cross the Zapadnaya Dvina with makeshift means. Rushing inside enemy lines, the

courageous soldier engaged in battle superior enemy forces. With submachine gun bursts he killed 35 fascists, including the crew of a light machine gun and captured six Hitlerites....

Private Abdushabbarov, Sadvyk, Kazakh, Komsomol member (unit in which Guards Colonel Yegorov¹¹ is political department chief)

After crossing the Zapadnaya Dvina, leading a group of soldiers and under heavy enemy fire, Abdushabbarov rushed into the Strelka settlement, killed several Hitlerites and captured an officer and two soldiers. After delivering the prisoners to the guards, Abdushabbarov took the heavy machine gun captured from the enemy and killed 10 Hitlerites, including the crew of an enemy machine gun which was firing from the church. Acting daringly and fearlessly, this loyal son of the Kazakh people, Private Abdushabbarov, ensured the success of his subunit in this sector. Abdushabbarov has been presented for the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.¹²

...Junior Sergeant Mkrtchyan, Grigory Vardanovich, gun commander, Armenian, party member (unit in which Guards Colonel Gur'yanov¹³ is political department chief).

On 22 June 1944, in breaching the enemy defenses in the Sirotino area, Mkrtchyan's crew destroyed an enemy 105-mm gun and two machine guns. Under fire cover provided by Mkrtchyan's gun, the infantry subunit followed by the gun crew, successfully carried out its combat assignment. In crossing the Zapadnaya Dvina on 24 June, using a raft he had made himself, Mkrtchyan moved his gun quickly and engaged the enemy on the march, with a view to broadening the bridgehead....

Red Army soldier machine gunner Bakhabov, Salim, Uzbek, nonparty member.

On 24 June 1944, under enemy fire, Bakhabov crossed the Zapadnaya Dvina with a heavy machine gun, on two logs tied together. Reaching the shore held by the enemy, machine gunner Bakhabov destroyed an enemy machine gun with its crew and three enemy submachine gunners while covering the crossing of other subunits. In the battle for the Beshenkovichi settlement, the courageous machine gunner Bakhabov fought in the most dangerous areas, supporting the infantrymen. He killed 10 Hitlerites with accurate fire and contributed to the successful implementation of the combat assignment....

Major General Drebednev, Chief of the Political Administration of the First Baltic Front

Original
TsAMO USSR, f. 32, op. 11,289, d. 582, ll. 245-249

Document No 15

From the Combat Report of the Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front on the Capture of Brest City and Fortress

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin, Supreme Commander in Chief

28 July 1944, 0200 hours

On 28 July 1944, the forces of the First Belorussian Front continued their offensive and, as a result of stubborn battles, stormed and captured the city and fortress of Brest, a powerful junction of railroads and highways. In the remaining sectors, surmounting enemy resistance, the forces advanced and occupied as many as 200 settlements....

Marshal of the Soviet Union Rokossovskiy, Commander of the Forces of the First Belorussian Front

Lieutenant General Bulganin, Member of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front

Colonel General Malinin, Chief of Staff of the First Belorussian Front

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 233, op. 2356, d. 122, ll. 86, 91

Document No 16

From the Political Report of the Political Administration of the Second Belorussian Front on Party Political Work Among the Front Troops in the Offensive

To the Military Council of the Second Belorussian Front

31 July 1944

The political organs and party organizations in the front forces continued to provide political support in the offensive.

During the period of intensive combat for the city of Belostok, when the troops had to be united even further and their combat spirit enhanced, the staff of the 336th Guards sp, 120th Guards sd and the party-political apparatus were part of the direct combat order of the infantry. Guards Senior Lieutenant Stepanov, the regimental agitator, saw to it that all officers and troops become familiarized with the appeal of the Military Council of the Third Army. A brief meeting was held. Guards Colonel Belyayev, the regimental commander, described the significance of Belostock as a most important strategic center and major junction of railroads and highways.

Combat leaflets-flash news were issued during the battle, in which the regimental heroes were described. Thus, a leaflet-flash was issued on the subject of Guards Private Armored Troop Soldier Khalmurat, who destroyed an enemy self-propelling gun and captured five fascists. Another regimental hero, Guards Sergeant Akhot Makhmutov, courageously conducted himself in street fighting. He killed three Hitlerites and captured four. His exploit was described in a combat leaflet.

Leaflets were printed on the firmness and struggle against enemy tanks and the heroic exploits of the best soldiers of the 324th sd, issued by the Political Department of the 50th Army. Short talks were given on the materials written in the leaflets.

In the Second Battery of the 299th oiptd, the discussion on the content of the leaflets on the struggle against enemy tanks was related to summing up the results of combat activities of the advancing squads. Between 23 June and 24 July the battery destroyed more than 200 fascists, 50 motor vehicles, two armored vehicles, 40 other vehicles, and as many as 30 enemy machine guns and howitzers. The subunit party members set the example in battle. The gun crew commanded by party organizer N. K. Tyurin destroyed more than 30 fascists and nine trucks, an armored vehicle and five machine guns. Party organizer Tyurin killed an enemy officer and four soldiers in hand-to-hand combat. The battery personnel swore to increase the battery's combat glory in further battles.

Experienced soldiers spoke at talks which followed the reading of the leaflets in the 1095th sp of the division. Thus, Red Army soldier Komsomol member Zaytsev of the First sr gave his comrades valuable advice on digging in, use of antitank grenades, etc.

Political work is concentrating on the popularization of heroic exploits, the publication of "passalong" leaflets, sending letters of congratulation to the parents of distinguished soldiers, etc.

Before throwing back an enemy counterattack, Captain Prokhorov, deputy commander for political affairs of the Second Battalion, 364th sp, passed along a leaflet which read as follows: "Soldiers, sergeants and officers of the Second Infantry Battalion! You have covered in battle the glorious distance from Chausy to the village of Pogorany (western Belorussia). Our unit was presented the high award of the Order of the Red Banner. Many among you have been nominated for governmental awards--those who proved themselves daring and courageous in the battles against the fascist aggressors. The enemy is sensing his inevitable doom and is resisting at the approaches to the border. The regimental and battalion command rely on you, comrade heroes, not to shame the honor of the regiment and the battalion but, conversely, to enhance it. The enemy shall not pass!"

...The leaflet played a great role, acting as a battle agitator. Our troops honorably repelled the counterattack of enemy infantry supported by aviation, self-propelling guns and howitzers....

Major General Okorokov, Chief of the Political Administration of the Second Belorussian Front

Original

TsAMO USSR, f. 237, op. 2,414, d. 43, ll. 192-194

Remarks

I. The forces of the First and Second Belorussian Fronts also participated in the liberation of Minsk.

2. I. D. Chernyakhovskiy--army general, commander of the forces of the Third Belorussian Front.
3. V. Ye. Makarov: lieutenant general, member of the Military Council of the Third Belorussian Front
4. A. P. Pokrovskiy: lieutenant general, chief of staff of the Third Belorussian Front.
5. Semenov: J. V. Stalin's code name.
6. Zharov: code name for G. K. Zhukov, representative of Supreme Command Headquarters.
7. D. M. Shishkin: colonel, chief, Political Department of the 179th Infantry Division.
8. By ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, dated 22 July 1944, Yu. Sh. Shakirov was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.
9. F. L. Uvarov: colonel, chief of the Political Department of the 334th Infantry Division.
10. A. Ye. Tolstobrov: lieutenant colonel, chief of the Political Department of the 204th Infantry Division.
11. V. F. Yegorov: colonel, chief of the Political Department of the 71st Guards Infantry Division.
12. By ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, dated 22 July 1944, S. Abduzhabbarov was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.
13. S. P. Gur'yanov: colonel, chief of the Political Department of the 46th Guards Infantry Division.

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CSO: 1802/4

REMEMBERING THE LESSONS OF TANKOGRAD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 84 (signed to press 29 Oct 84) pp 76-87

[Article by I. Zal'tzman, hero of socialist labor, and G. Edel'gauz, doctor of economic sciences. Before the war I. M. Zal'tzman was director of the Kirov Plant in Leningrad. In October 1941 he became deputy people's commissar and director of the Kirov Plant in Chelyabinsk. In 1942 and 1943 he was people's commissar for the USSR Tank Industry, after which he resumed his position as director of the Chelyabinsk Kirov Plant. Presently he is head designer at the experimental-machine plant in Leningrad and receives a special USSR pension; G. Ye. Edel'gauz is professor at the Leningrad Engineering-Economics Institute imeni P. Togliatti. During the war and the first postwar years he was deputy director of the Kirov Plant in Chelyabinsk; between 1943 and 1947 he was assistant chief engineer at the plant]

[Text] A great exploit was performed during the Great Patriotic War by the working people in the rear. During that period the historical accuracy of Lenin's words to the effect that "we won" when "we created discipline..., and achieved the maximal stress of the people's energy," and that "proletarian labor discipline must be raised to the highest level of tension, at which point we shall be invincible" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, pp 120, 333) were confirmed once again with new emphasis.

The reason for which we turn today to the practical experience of Soviet industry during the incredibly difficult wartime is dictated not only by the understandable desire to honor the heroic accomplishments of the Soviet working class and the people's intelligentsia, who worked with the utmost stress of forces and selfless dedication for the defeat of the enemy. The lessons of the war are of lasting significance and are topical to this day.

An extensive debate is taking place today in the country and new ways and means of socialist economic management are being experimentally tested. Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out that "the system of economic management, our entire economic mechanism, must be seriously restructured." This makes it even more pertinent to recall on the eve of the 40th anniversary of our victory the positive features of the economic mechanism which operated during the Great Patriotic War and which ensured the successful work of the economy.

Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!

As we know, the Leningrad Kirov, the Kharkov Motor Vehicle and several other enterprises were involved in relocating industry from the front line and threatened areas to the east in 1941. Together they formed a large plant for the manufacturing of heavy tanks--Tankograd. By that time the prewar tank design had become obsolete. Nevertheless, the entire production of heavy tanks and self-propelling artillery systems continued uninterrupted. Furthermore, the plant made a substantial contribution to the production of T-34 medium tanks.

Compared with 1942, in 1944 the volume of gross output at the enterprise had increased by more than one-half; it increased by 18.7 percent in 1943 and by another 34 percent in 1944. Between 1942 and 1944 labor productivity increased by 49 percent. This accounted for 82 percent of increased output for that period and for 100 percent of increased output in 1944. Compared with 1941, labor-intensiveness in the production of the KV-model tank declined by one-half in 1943, or from 14,600 to 7,200 man/hours. During the war years production costs of the heavy tank were reduced by 53 percent. Despite the drastic drop in the price of tanks, the plant worked profitably and earned 500 million rubles.

Such high economic results were achieved, above all, thanks to the dedicated efforts of the enterprise workers. A number of similar examples of mass heroism may be cited, in which the problems were resolved by the personnel working to the limit of their strength. While the bodies of new tanks were being completed, the tanks were being assembled in the cold, under open skies. The bonfires used to warm up the iced-up metal of the armor were burning day and night. Throughout the war the people worked without leave or days off. The workday was 11 hours long. The volume of mandatory overtime was huge. Wages for recorded overtime accounted for some 10 percent of basic salaries. The people were short of food and sleep and sometimes stayed at the plant for days on end. Let us add to this their concern for relatives and friends who were fighting at the front, were in besieged Leningrad or had found themselves on territory occupied by the enemy, or those whose traces had vanished during the evacuation. We cannot fail to recall today tuner G. Yekhlakov, who initiated the movement for covering 10 or more norms daily, blacksmith I. Gridin, workers A. Salo, Kh. Dvoskin, G. Titov, D. Panin and N. Stepovoy, brigade leader A. Pashnin, the very young Vasya Gusev and Shura Sadikov and many other labor heroes, to whom not going home before fulfilling their assignments had become the rule. In July 1942 the plant's party organization decreed that "nonfulfillment of assignment by party members is incompatible with party membership."

It would be erroneous to think, however, that the tasks facing Tankograd during the war were resolved at all cost and that all means used to this effect were good. The high dedication of the people was supported by proper labor organization. The plant workers were rallied within a strong labor collective living with a single aspiration under the slogan "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory!" The united work of Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Jews, Armenians, Georgians and labor troops--Uzbeks, Turkmen and Tajiks--who had joined the enterprise, was organized.

Under the party's leadership, a wartime economic mechanism was developed, which encompassed most successfully, on the basis of democratic centralism, the entire economic management system: engineering support for production, planning and organization, management, work with cadres and labor incentive. In this connection, N. A. Voznesenskiy pointed out that "the war economy of the USSR is providing the best possible experience in socialist planning and production organization at enterprises. This experience must be thoroughly studied...." Unfortunately, this problem has been virtually ignored in the tremendous amount of publications on the history of the Great Patriotic War.

At that time the economic mechanism was operating under extreme conditions. The time factor and the intensive nature of the production process were of decisive importance. Ever more advanced tanks had to be created and their production mastered within an extremely short time. It took only 35 days from the arrival of the first echelon in Chelyabinsk (there were a total of 26) for the Kharkov collective to undertake the series production of diesel engines. In 1943 the plant was given only 1 month to prepare for the production and conveyer-belt assembling of the outstanding medium T-34 tank, without interrupting the production and updating of the heavy KV tank and, subsequently, the IS model. In the autumn of 1942, the plant was informed of the specifications for the new Panther and Tiger plants and Ferdinand self-propelling guns, which the Germans intended to use during the summer campaign of 1943. In less than 3 months, at the start of 1943, advanced machines were designed and supplied to the army. They successfully participated in the defeat of the fascist tank armies in the historical battle of the Kursk Arc. Mastering the production of other tank models took place within the same short periods of time with no interruption in the production of current models. A total of 5,800 metal-processing machine tools and a large amount of other equipment, which had arrived in Chelyabinsk at the very beginning of the war from the Kirov Plant in Leningrad, were assembled in no more than 3 weeks in a roofless building.

At the outset of the war, the plant had the opportunity to increase the working time, which it used by changing the work system and cutting various losses. Additional manpower further increased the volume of output--cadre workers of retired people who had returned to the plant, women previously employed in the nonproduction area, housewives and young people and adolescents from schools, vocational schools and children's homes. Let us point out that young people accounted for 43 percent of all Tankograd workers. An army of workers who could not be drafted in the armed forces because of various physical infirmities, also joined the plant. The state also demobilized from the army and the people's militia a group of highly skilled workers and engineering and technical personnel and returned them to the plant.

Very soon, however, this full extensive production growth factor was exhausted and the plant's further development proceeded through intensification. The growth of labor productivity was achieved essentially by improving production technology and organization. The limited nature of raw material, fuel and energy resources and production capacities made it necessary intensively to seek and find ways for their optimal utilization.

Alliance Between Science and Labor

It would be fully justified to say that during the war Tankograd became the prototype of a contemporary scientific production association. It had scientific and design institutes and departments, technological and general technical services and laboratories. There were one engineer and one employee for every five to six workers. Never, even during the most difficult periods, were engineering cadres removed from their basic duties to meet a variety of production or management needs. The plant's collective was well aware of the fact that production begins at the drafting board, with the designers. A talented collective of creators of new machines developed in Tankograd, headed by engineers Zh. Kotin, N. Dukhov, L. Troyanov, M. Balzhi, I. Trashutin and Ya. Vikhman.

During the war, fascist Germany was forced to change the essential features of its tanks repeatedly. The German tanks, which were based on the "lightning war" principle, were initially adapted only for offensive operations. Their flanks were poorly protected. Clashes with Soviet combat ordnance forced the enemy to undertake the creation of heavy tanks, in turn duplicating our models, the T-34 in particular. Throughout the war, Tankograd implemented a uniform technical concept of tank development: a diesel engine and an optimal combination of conflicting requirements for a heavy tank: increased firepower, armor, maneuverability, speed and cross-country ability. Thirteen different types of tanks and self-propelling artillery systems were developed and supplied to the front. Tanks such as the KV-1S, IS-1, IS-2 and IS-3, and ISU-122, SU-152 and ISU-152 self-propelling systems, developed on their basis, steadily increased the strength of the troops, ensuring throughout the war a qualitative and, subsequently, quantitative superiority of Soviet armor over enemy weapons.

The use of diesel rather than carburetor engines was a major advantage of our tanks and self-propelling systems. Our tankmen were actually unwilling to use tanks supplied by the Allies, based on the lend-lease agreement. In 1942 the country's leadership warned the Americans that American tanks, according to front-line specialists, could be easily set afire by antitank enemy shells hitting them from the rear or the side. It was also pointed out that a diesel engine was considered to be the most suitable for tanks. However, the Americans were unable rapidly to master the production of tank diesel engines and to meet the essential tactical and technical characteristics of our combat vehicles.

In fulfilling the assignments of the State Defense Committee on the development of new equipment, the plant assumed the initiative of developing new models in accordance with data obtained from the fronts, the anticipation of future battles, the possibilities of enemy ordnance and the experience gained in testing the tanks and their individual assemblies. In order to avoid the harmful consequences of monopolizing the development of technical ideas, the development of a new tank was sometimes assigned to different groups of designers. This triggered positive competition in the creative process. The work was always done with an eye to the future. While combat operations were still raging, in 1944 the plant was already engaged in the

development of the new S-80 tractor, which subsequently enabled it rapidly to convert to peacetime production.

Let us reemphasize that the plant's successes would have been impossible without the special concern which the entire collective showed for the creation and continuing improvement of its output. There was nothing strange in the fact that the plant director, for example, began and ended his work day at the design bureau. To this day, a portfolio of orders, guaranteed for several years in advance cannot be developed, preparations for production completed on time, organizing material support and increasing the production of machines needed by the country cannot be accomplished without the development of advanced machines the demand for which would be stable and which would meet even the strictest and steadily increasing requirements of consumers. Without its design subunit--the developer of new items--a plant loses its capability for further development and is doomed to technical-economic obsolescence.

The Tankograd collective paid great attention to the quality of the tanks. Detailed studies were made not only of all claims received by the plant but to all other claims relative to the quality of the machines, for the breakdown of a tank, even if caused by violations of operational requirements, frequently revealed design shortcomings. A large operational department was set up to provide technical assistance and to study the quality of the tanks under front-line conditions. Plant workers--the most experienced assemblymen and drivers--personally participated in several battles in order to test their tanks. The views of front-line veteran crews, who came to the plant to take delivery of the latest batch, were listened to carefully and summed up. All remarks and suggestions were taken immediately into consideration if possible, and the necessary changes were made in tank design. Students attending training centers for tank personnel were assigned to the plant for periods of 2-3 months. They participated in assembling and testing the tanks and mastered the rules in handling them.

The development of new machines and their updating were conducted simultaneously by all specialists involved in tank development. Plant chief engineer S. Makhonin and Ya. Nevyazhskiy, A. Glazunov, Yu. Bozhko, S. Khalt, S. Samorodov and I. Maslov, heads of engineering services and subunits, played a major role in providing technological support in their production. High standards were maintained in planning and production preparations.

The work was organized in such a way that a designed worked with a metallurgist, a blacksmith, a casting worker, a die worker, a technologist in charge of machine processing and assembling and an instrument worker. The work was done not consecutively but on a virtually parallel basis. By the time a design had been completed, the technology was ready and all that remained was production. Technologists mandatorily initialed any blueprint for a new machine. All of this ensured the technological development of the design, and the full consideration of the actual technical and cadre possibilities of the plant, thus guaranteeing the fast production of new items.

Mass production principles were applied in the manufacturing of 50-ton tanks, the first of their kind in the world, on assembly lines; the tanks were assembled along conveyer belts. All of this was aimed at reducing processing time and "straightening" the technological routes along which the parts moved. It was not the object which went to the machine tool but the machine tool which was placed on the path along which the parts moved. To this effect, without interrupting the production process, in one night hundreds of machine tools could be readjusted, and if base plates were needed on which to assemble the machine tools, they were set in advance. Welding equipment, systems for tempering the parts with high-frequency power, etc., were organized on an assembly line basis.

One of the technological features was the increased capacity of semifinished production facilities and shops for basic machine processing which, like a continuous pump, supplied the assembly lines and sectors with the necessary labor items. No single machine tool without special fittings could be found at the plant. Such high-level technical production facilities required the development of an instrument and repair facility. In 1943 the ratio between auxiliary workers and workers engaged in basic production was 1.15. Postoperational processing of assemblies and parts was organized. All of this helped to compensate for the scarcity of skilled cadres, for the machine tools were handled by women and adolescents, trained on the job. The gravity of the problem was confirmed by the fact that even in 1944, 14 percent of production workers failed to meet their output norms although the plant averaged a norm fulfillment of 135 percent. Let us also point out that three-shift work ensured the high level of utilization of productive capital and contributed to the fast recovery of outlays for technical production facilities.

Close ties between science and production played a major role in the successful work of the Tankograd collective. Headed by Ye. Paton, the plant installed facilities for automated rather than manual flux electric welding. This decisively contributed to the development of tank production. P. Kapitsa suggested a method for oxygen production. V. Vologdin set up a scientific laboratory which extensively applied the method of reinforcing major parts with the help of high-frequency current. Statistical data studies of places where tanks were hit in combat, carried out under the leadership of Colonel Zav'yalov, scientifically substantiated recommendations relative to the shape and position of the armor. Plant workers A. Vedenov, G. Margolin and many other comrades were awarded the USSR State Prize for the development of new brands of steel.

Engineering support was considered a permanent obligation of all plant services without exception which, within the very limited possibilities of the times, created all the necessary conditions for the normal work of design and technical departments. The average wage of engineering and technical personnel (designers, technologists, etc.) exceeded the average monthly wage of medium-grade workers, at that time equaling 4.1, by approximately 40 percent. Let us note that currently this difference in our industry is no more than 11 percent.

Limits of Centralization

As it should be under socialism, planning was the central link of the economic mechanism during the war years. The state annual plan set assignments for output, expenditure and economy of resources and the material and for financial support of the plant's work. The people's commissariat issued the plant a plan based on the following indicators: gross and marketable output, variety, labor productivity, utilization of workers' time, metal outlays, member of personnel by category and average wage, computations and cost of output of marketable production, production computations, computations of general plant expenditures, and profits and losses. The plan reflected the need for centralized allocation of resources yet left space for extensive initiative and freedom in the choice of specific means of resolving assignments by the collective. It is important to emphasize the major role which the enterprise itself played in formulating the draft plan, which was based on design possibilities, the study of the needs of the front and the portfolio of orders.

The plan frequently remained unfulfilled in 1941-1942. However, the plant did not ask for any lowering of assignments which it had submitted itself through the draft plan. The high indicators were guidelines which controlled all operations on mobilizing the collective and developing the production process. At the same time, the central bodies always trusted the plant, unquestionably confident that it was working at maximal capacity. They helped it and assessed the collective's activities not on the basis of attaining one indicator or another but on end results--the ever-increased production of tanks.

There were difficulties in plan procurements. In October 1941 General Headquarters asked that all available tanks be sent to Moscow. Several dozen tanks had already been assembled from the Leningrad batch sent to the plant. However, they lacked starting mechanisms. Meanwhile, every hour counted. The tanks were loaded and shipped to Moscow which supplied the starters. The respective carrying the tanks and the starters met in the vicinity of Kuybyshev. The plant workers transferred the starters to their own train and completed the tank assemblies on the way. The tanks joined the battle in one of the decisive areas of the battle for Moscow directly from the railroad flatcars. Despite the incredibly difficult conditions, the plant's conveyor belt operated without a hitch throughout the war.

We must point out that the centralization of resources in wartime did not lead to any particularly strict restrictions of the economic autonomy of defense industry enterprises or cost accounting. The most important indicator of the plan was the assignment on the production of tanks in physical terms. The value plan indicators ensured the interconnection and balancing of all aspects of the enterprise's work. The cost of tanks was systematically lowered, which allowed the state to accumulate additional funds for defense. The lowered prices and customer control of production outlays forced the plant continually to improve its equipment and production organization. The lowered cost of a heavy tank saved the state 2.5 billion rubles during the war. The implementation of the marketable production plan and Gosbank credits ensured

the uninterrupted payments to and clearing accounts with procurers. Not once was there a delay in meeting the payroll for the duration of the war.

The stimulating role of wages, differentiated on the basis of quantity and quality, was retained under the conditions of the rationing of essential food products and stable state prices of products and rents. During this entire period the plant was subject to the strict financial control of the Gosbank. During difficult periods surplus materials had to be sold and reserves handled flexibly. Cost accounting relations were maintained within the enterprise as well, and the shops were issued plans for basic economic indicators.

The organizational structure of management, which was developed during the war, was exceptionally simple. It had no intermediary levels which essentially have transmitting functions only. From top to bottom it was based on maintaining direct contacts between managers and subordinates. The People's Commissariat for the Tank Industry had no main administrations, and all problems were resolved directly by the departments within its central apparatus, which were in constant touch with the plants. In order to bring the people's commissariat closer to the enterprises, at the beginning of the war the manager of the set of plants in the Urals was also made deputy people's commissar with full rights and obligations. The Tankograd chief designer as well was made deputy people's commissar. At the plant, which employed tens of thousands of people, production management was provided by two sectorial departments (tanks and engines), with a very small administrative staff. The remaining shops were under the direct jurisdiction of the plant's director. This brought the collective closer to the director, who was thus able to see the major and minor aspects of its life and directly to supervise the organization of all projects and production control on a daily basis. Today some large plants (associations) have developed institutions involving a large number of directors in charge of production matters, in most cases within the same area or in the immediate vicinity. Such directors, in turn, have set up large staffs of assistants, who virtually duplicate the central services. In our view, this leads to an inflation of the administrative apparatus, which has been condemned by the party. The most dangerous aspect in this case is that in such cases the general director cannot personally supervise and control, be in close touch with the collective and contribute his knowledge and experience on a daily basis.

During the war the rights of the primary units were expanded as much as possible and their initiative was encouraged. For example, after the oblast party committee had suggested to the plant to organize collective and individual truck gardening and to provide technical aid to the local kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the entire project was passed on to the individual shops. The direct contacts with which the primary managements maintained with each other proved to be more effective than had the management of this important project been centralized and, in all likelihood, bureaucratized.

Another feature of the economic mechanism during the war years was the close combination of sectorial with regional industrial management principles. Organizationally, this was secured with the fact that the first secretary of the Chelyabinsk Party Obkom was also the representative of the State Defense Committee. Nikolay Semenovich Patolichev could be frequently seen, day or

night, in the various plant shops and at tanks testing grounds. Always conscious of the rhythm of the plant's life, whenever necessary he invariably helped the Tankograd collective with advice or action.

An integral territorial-production complex had been developed before the war in the Southern Urals. When the war broke out, everything became subordinate to the interests of the front. Under these circumstances, regardless of the departmental affiliation of an enterprises, complex regional problems were resolved quite efficiently. Thus, the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, other plants and the South Ural Railroad were closely linked by a single system of procurements, forming something like an interplant conveyer belt. Problems of manpower, electric power supplies, transportation and intrarayon procurements were successfully resolved within the area. At one point, the Kirov Plant in Chelyabinsk was violating the plan for the delivery of spare parts to the front. On the initiative of the military, all such procurements became part of the mandatory complementing of the tanks, organized as battalions, regiments, brigades, corps and tank armies. If the proper spare parts were unavailable, the tank within the specific subunit was considered unfinished and any further acceptance of tanks was stopped. Additional capacities for the production of spare parts were found with the help of the oblast party organization, which enabled us to lessen the gravity of the problem to a certain extent.

Complex and vitally important problems such as finding housing for many thousands of workers and their families (by 1 January 1942 30,000 people had arrived at the plant), the organization of trade and consumer services, i.e., all the aspects of the social infrastructure of the production process, without which no single enterprise can work reliably, were resolved efficiently.

Extensive Initiative and High Responsibility

Quite efficient management methods were developed and practically tested at the plant during the war years, and a specific economic management style was established. Particular attention was paid to the development of a work system in which management dealt only with eliminating arising violations of the stipulated procedures. Thus, a system of preventive control of materials and purchased items and testing equipment and fittings for precision and worker certification was introduced in order to ensure the proper quality of the tanks. Technological order and cleanliness charts were developed for each production sector. The OTK [Technical Control Department] was assigned the duty of supervising the cleaning system as stipulated in the charts. It had the right to stop production deliveries. Any report of a breakdown was considered an indication of the absence of a proper work system. For example, at one point the chief of the leading shop submitted a report to the director requesting that an instruction be issued to repair the roof over a one-of-a-kind machine tool. It was clear that both the shop and the repair-construction service had already tried to resolve the problem but had been unable to do so for some reason. The consideration of such a seemingly petty and isolated case led to the conclusion of the need to find additional resources and to streamline the system of preventive roof control and repairs.

Strange though it may seem, during the war years, despite the exceptionally stressed pace of the work, when not days but hours and minutes counted, managing the plant was not more difficult and even easier than before the war. The reason was not only the high performing and labor discipline of the plant's collective but the fact that the war seemed to have eliminated barriers in all production sectors, which had hindered the display of initiative and creative independence. Mandatory instructions, circulars and orders which, incidentally, were very infrequent, also granted the plant personnel the right to make independent decisions on the spot and to find the shortest way of carrying out assignments. Since initiative was comprehensively encouraged, the people boldly assumed justified production risks without fear of possible failures.

The punctual observance of instructions received from above is always simpler and "safer." That is why great efforts were made at the plant to see to it that any display of initiative would not be considered by the people as some kind of "punishable action." Let us particularly note the trust in cadres, which was persistently encouraged by the party organization among managers on all levels. The number of audits, investigations and commissions, which would distract the workers and create an atmosphere of fear of errors and failures, was reduced to a minimum. Although the lack of frequent investigations occasionally resulted in disorder and violations, as a whole the trust in the cadres was justified by the extensive development of their initiative and independent thinking. With every passing day, reality proved that when nothing paralyzes the initiative of the people they can create miracles.

I recall that at the end of 1941 a 15-ton hammer for crankshafts arrived from Kharkov. The stock of ingots was coming to an end, and a real danger had appeared of halting the production of both engines and tanks. An 18-meter deep hole had to be dug under the foundations to set the hammer. Furthermore, the lower half of the anvil block had been delayed somewhere along the way. The hammer support weighed 150 tons. No conventional methods could be used in digging the foundation bit, for the removal of so much dirt could undermine the supporting pillars and the entire shop could collapse. An unusual solution had to be found. This was achieved thanks to the initiative of several plant workers who took the risk and responsibility for the outcome. The digging was undertaken not from the top but from the side, underground, like an adit. A spare support for the 9-ton hammer, weighing 100 tons, was found. Drills were brought, with the help of which a series of deep straight and slanted 100mm openings were made, and the lower and upper parts of the plate were combined. Soon afterwards the hammer was producing the required crankshafts.

Let me cite another example as proof of this simple yet occasionally forgotten truth. Toward the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943 no tanks were shipped out of the plant and its entire area was crowded with hundreds of huge tanks. Finally, the order to begin immediate shipping out was received, for the battle for the Kursk Arc was becoming imminent. However, since the tanks had been idle for a number of months, there was the risk of damage caused by inadequate maintenance or partial cannibalizing. Furthermore, some of the tanks may not have been completely outfitted. The decision was made to set up both at the plant and in the city temporary areas in which the tanks could be

checked and shipped out. Water was brought to these areas, and searchlights and welding equipment were installed. A great deal of inventiveness was asked of the workers and engineers and as well as readiness to risk preparing the tanks for shipment under such unusual conditions. This was done on a round-the-clock basis and the trains which had arrived to take the tanks away did not have to wait even a single hour.

At the beginning of 1944, the plant started a record entitled "Victory Fund." The record book was placed on the director's desk and was accessible to any worker at all times, so that he could enter his suggestions, which were immediately considered and, if adopted, applied. Within a single month nearly 2,500 rationalization suggestions were entered in the "Victory Fund." Throughout the war, a total of 17,322 suggestions were made and 9,136 of them were used.

No excuse for work failures was accepted, for no excuse could fill the place of a tank needed at the front. The procedure followed by managers on all levels was the same: if you were short of ingots, see the blacksmiths; if you were short of transportation, find a way to deliver the freight anyway; if you were short of tools, help the workers at the instruments shop instead of complaining. In order to develop at the plant an atmosphere of reciprocal guarantees and business relations, the party committee and the management ignored complaints about inefficiency or anonymous denunciations. All problems, big and small, were resolved without delay. Denial of responsibility or shifting it to someone else were considered inadmissible. Only particularly difficult problems, which required the intervention of superior management--the shop or department chief and the director--reached them. Here is a typical report by the chief of the assembly shop to the director: "We have thread parts for thus-and-such a number of days, none are on the way and the metallurgical combine intends to begin production at thus-and-such a time, which will be too late." The people were not afraid of telling the truth, for they clearly realized that even the most bitter truth was preferable to idle waiting. Fearlessly, the performers themselves immediately reported blunders and errors. In turn, the plant managers spent a great deal of their time directly in the shops, making decisions aimed at eliminating bottlenecks quickly (in a matter of hours) and on the spot. Personal example was particularly important under wartime conditions and the managers worked under tremendous pressure, as anyone could see.

The plant personnel were well-familiar with the situation in the rear and in the theaters of military operations and closely followed the daily Sovinformburo communiques. The problems jointly resolved by the front and the rear were closely related to the life of the oblast, city and plant. Letters from the front and statements by evacuees from besieged Leningrad "agitated" in favor of dedicated work. Words were inseparable from actions. This facilitated the entire educational work conducted by the party organization.

High decision efficiency and the absence of bureaucratism and various types of red tape were a characteristic feature of the style of industrial management at that time. The requests submitted by the plant to the people's commissariat or the government were met, as a rule, immediately. If necessary, going through channels was ignored. I recall the following case:

one of the tank plants in the Urals was in danger of shutting down because of a shortage of oil. The workers on whom petroleum procurements depended promised to help. However, there was no assurance whatsoever that the needed help would arrive on time. The country's high leadership, which was dealing with major strategic problems, immediately reacted to the direct appeal it received and a petroleum train was redirected to the plant. The tanks and the air force were thus able to receive the necessary parts the plant manufactured.

Shock Labor Incentives

The wartime experience reemphasized the fact that efficient economic management is inseparably related to the skillful selection and placement of cadres. From the very onset of the war, skilled and initiative-minded people were made managers of most of the enterprise units. Our big country has always been rich in talent. All it took was to find it and promote suitable people to leading positions daringly, regardless of age. I recall, for example, that during the most difficult initial period of the war, V. Malyshev, USSR Sovnarkom deputy chairman, who was in charge of tank production, was 39 years old; the people's commissar for tank industry and, subsequently, Tankograd director, was 36; S. Makhonin, the plant's chief engineer, was about 40 years old; Zh. Kotin, the chief designer, was 34; and M. Kozin, the plant's party organizer of the VKP(b) Central Committee, was 35. Most of the shop and department chiefs were between the ages of 30 and 40. Virtually all of them were graduates of higher or at least secondary technical schools and had had shop production training.

We must mention at this point the chiefs of plant shops and departments K. Titov, K. Khokhlov, Ye. Mamontov, A. Volkov, I. Strakovskiy, F. Abramov, M. Naysh, L. Dovzhik, A. Khlebnikov, M. Shapiro, N. Bogdanov, N. Shvelidze and D. Khodosko. It is precisely to them and to many other managers that the plant owed its successes. However, one cannot speak of the role of shop chiefs without mentioning the foremen who were directly in charge of the brigade leaders and the workers, and who provided direct technical support and organized the production process, planned day-to-day work and considered the future developments of their areas or sectors. During the war the state of affairs and the shop assignments were discussed directly at the sectorial level with the foremen. Let us recall that, as a rule, at that time both the earnings and bonuses to foremen were higher than those of their subordinate brigade leaders and workers.

Cadre stability was a distinguishing feature of plant life at that time. Virtually all department and shop chiefs and foremen kept their roles throughout the war. People were never appointed to managerial positions for the sake of "conveniencing" their superiors. OTK Chief N. Sinitsa, Chief Bookkeeper V. Dement'yev, Chief of Equipment Safety Department V. Gamper and Security Chief N. Kas'yanenko were not accommodating people, and never made any kind of concessions or allowed violations of stipulated procedures. For this reason, the plant director could always feel secure about regarding the situation at the most important plant sectors.

Strict discipline was based on the consciousness and responsibility of the overwhelming majority of the personnel. Strict order was maintained by clarifying in detail the role which every worker played in the common project, interest in assignments, material and moral incentives and the strictest possible personal liability for production discipline violations. In the course of the regularly held certifications, for example, the familiarity of the worker with the part he manufactured was determined. This had a positive influence on the quality of the work and promoted in the people pride in their jobs.

Unquestionably, the enhanced personal responsibility of cadres was assisted by the fact that the entire personnel in the defense industry plants were considered mobilized. A fact of great importance is that during the war there was no drunkenness among the plant's collective, inevitably accompanied by absenteeism, lowered output and increased percentage of defective goods. Despite the great strictness of the war period, not once were extreme measures applied (reassignment to penal battalions, etc.

The most effective material incentives during the war were food, clothing and housing priority. The plant was able to provide two meals daily starting with April 1943. Bonuses consisted of food. Thus, the best shift in the steel-smelting shop was awarded 100 packs of tobacco, 20 manufactured items and, on a daily basis, 100 food items. The shop chiefs kept sandwiches and rations for children in their safes. They issued them to workers who had distinguished themselves in meeting their daily assignments or who stayed behind to do overtime.

A constant search for additional food supplies continued. The plant helped the local kolkhozes and sovkhozes in exchange for surplus produce and looked for food in Central Asia and many other parts of the country. It organized its own production of some foodstuffs and consumer goods, such as, for example, saccharin, utensils, padlocks, whetstone for sharpening scythes, horseshoes and cans. A barbershop, a shoe repair shop and a shower room with a disinfection chamber were set up at shop MKh-4 on the initiative of shop chief K. Khokhlov and Party Bureau Secretary A. Runikhin.

Moral incentives were used in a variety of forms. The specific targets and forms of socialist competition changed according to conditions. The plant workers participated in the all-union competition for overfulfilling the plan for the production of tanks and tank engines. They competed under the slogans "Work Not With Numbers But With Skill," which was accompanied by reducing the number of workers in the brigades; "Do Not Go Home Without Meeting Your Assignment," "Fulfill the Plan With Each Work Hour" and others. The plant was awarded Red Challenge banners on 33 occasions during the war. A number of enterprise workers were presented with USSR orders and medals and "Excellent Worker in the Tank Industry" badges or were made laureates of the USSR State Prize.

Let us point out in conclusion that the economic mechanism in the war years ensured the overall successful work of Soviet industry, thus making a major contribution to the victory of our people over fascism. Naturally, today wartime methods are inapplicable. However, it is our deep convictions that

the lessons learned from the very rich experience in economic management during that period could and should help our current work in improving the plant system of socioeconomic management. Under contemporary conditions, as the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945" emphasizes, the implementation of planned assignments, conscientious productive toil and high-level organization and discipline are not only a civic duty but the patriotic duty of every Soviet person and labor collective.

To our people nothing is more precious than peace, after having experienced the horrors of the last war and suffered incalculable losses. The further progress of developed socialism and strengthening the economic and defense power of the homeland are prerequisites for its consolidation.

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TOWARD SOCIALISM, BYPASSING CAPITALIST SLAVERY

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[Article by Jambyn Batmonh, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic Council of Ministers]

[Text] This year the Mongolian people will be noting two outstanding dates in their history. Sixty years ago the Third Congress of the MNR [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] approved the party's general line of Mongolia's conversion from feudalism to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development; the first Great People's Hural proclaimed Mongolia a people's republic. These two historical events inaugurated a new period in overall Mongolian sociopolitical life.

The communists and the working people in our country welcome these great anniversaries as celebrations of the triumph of the Leninist course of the MNR, in the course of which, in virtually a single generation, Mongolia covered the path from extreme feudal backwardness to contemporary progress and real socialism. This was a complex process, which required revolutionary fearlessness and wise caution in the revolutionary reorganization of the foundations of social life.

We look upon our celebration as an opportunity for a thoughtful analysis of what we have gained and accomplished and for defining the most efficient means of resolving difficult and many-tiered tasks in completing the building of socialism on Mongolian soil. At the same time, although in terms of population size in the world community the MNR [Mongolian People's Republic] holds a modest place, we believe that the 60-year-old history of the Mongolian People's Revolution could be quite instructive to a significant percentage of the earth's population.

We know that today, by virtue of many reasons, side by side with real socialism there is also developed capitalism alongside early capitalist, feudal and even more archaic social structures. A great variety of trends within the socialist, democratic and national liberation movement aimed against imperialism sometimes become strangely intertwined in the contemporary global revolutionary process. Again and again, under these circumstances the

question arises of whether the peoples of the former colonies and dependent countries--the majority of the population on earth--which have fallen behind in their development could reduce the time needed for national, political and social development. Is it mandatory in their case, as was assumed by the theoreticians of the Second International, to cover all the stages of feudal and, subsequently, bourgeois development on their way to socialism?

In this respect the Mongolian experience is of essential nature and great importance to the liberated countries. It clearly proved the lasting truthfulness of the Marxist ideas on the national-colonial problem, which were particularly extensively developed by V. I. Lenin, and the creative and universal nature of Marxist-Leninist theory and its applicability to all conditions of the struggle.

The solution of the problem of noncapitalist development, as our experience proved, tolerates no haste. It requires special caution and tactfulness, which are incompatible with leftist adventurism and pseudorevolutionary limelighting or right-wing opportunistic practice. In the course of this century a transition was made from nomad shepherd feudal economy, terrible poverty and virtually total illiteracy to a socialist society. In this case Marx's words are quite relevant: "No revolution can be made by a party. It is made only by the people" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 45, p 475). Nor should we forget, however, that without party leadership the masses can engage in spontaneous actions only. A successful outcome requires both theory and specific practical examples in building socialism while bypassing capitalism.

The Mongolian revolutionaries had the main foundation: their belief in the need for revolutionary change and the great example of Lenin's party, which had breached the capitalist system; they had the example of the Soviet communists, who had engaged in communist work in parts of the Soviet East where socioeconomic conditions were similar to those in Mongolia. Therefore, we did not start from scratch while making our contribution to the world revolutionary process worth of attention.

One of the vivid examples of the influence of the liberation ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the national liberation movement of the peoples of the Orient was the creation of a revolutionary party of the working people in Mongolia and the victory of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal national democratic revolution.

Naturally, there will always be wise people to say that the creation of a party which undertakes to lead the people to socialism, i.e., to implement the historical mission of the working class in a country in which no such class exists, is illogical. However, the history of mankind, particularly that of the 20th century, cannot be conceived without such "illogicalities."

The socialist revolution in Russia as well was described as a paradox, a special case and a historical absurdity. Yet it marked a new age in the struggle waged by the peoples for national and social liberation. It was precisely that revolution which proved the theoretical and practical possibility of dozens of peoples in a multinational country to "urge on" the

smooth course of history and to shorten their way to socialism by excluding uncrossed development stages. In creating the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1921, D. Sukhe-Bator and his fellow workers, who were few in number, led to the struggle the toiling peasants, who did not even know the meaning of the word "socialism." Yet at the 8th Congress of the RKP(b) Lenin himself said that "if a future historian undertakes to gather data on the groups which ran Russia during these 17 months, and the hundreds or thousands of individuals who did this entire work, who assumed the incredible burden of managing the country, no one would believe that this could be achieved with such an insignificant force" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 145).

Furthermore, the infinitely heroic detachment of Mongolian revolutionaries clearly realized that despite their illiteracy and ignorance, the arats (the nomad peasantry) would perfectly understand the need to eliminate serfdom, to give the land to the people who work it and the cattle to those who raise it. Even the most ignorant peasant could understand the usefulness of abolishing usurious debts. The toiling peasants were ready to support these demands. To accomplish this, however, they had to be given a force which could seize the power and decisively deal with the feudal lords, i.e., see "in practice that they had an organized leader and defender, sufficiently powerful and firm to provide aid and leadership and to point in the right direction" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 41, p 173). The Mongolian arats found this leader and defender in the numerically small but firmly united nucleus of the people's revolutionary party and the government which was created in the course of the revolution.

The MNRP was organizationally founded at its first congress in March 1921. As a result of the victory of the people's revolution it became not only the first and only political party in the country but also the leading and guiding force of society and the battle vanguard of its people.

From the very first days, the party faced the difficult and noble task of finding, of discovering new ways of development of the sovereign state from backwardness to progress. In resolving this problem, our party relied on the theory of scientific socialism, the actual experience of the Leninist party and the aid and support of the international communist movement. Objective factors, such as the defeat of the foreign enslavers, the gaining of political independence, state autonomy by the Mongolian people and the power of the toiling people--the people's hural, based on the ideas of the Soviet system--understood by every peasant, also contributed to the successful making of revolutionary democratic changes.

Furthermore, the correct orientation was extremely hindered by the lack of industry and, consequently, the lack of a socioclass base of socialism, represented by a national working class.

Under those circumstances, the choice of a progressive path of development for the country and its implementation greatly depended on the subjective factor--the activities of the MNRP.

The party program, which was adopted at the first congress, noted that following the victory of the people's revolution, Mongolia was to follow a path distinct from the capitalist system. It also emphasized the leading role of the international communist movement in the universal liberation struggle waged by the peoples and the idea of establishing friendly relations with the land of the soviets. National and social problems of the people's revolution were formulated in close unity. All of this proved that the party was guiding the Mongolian people toward building a new life while bypassing capitalism.

Broadening practical contacts with the international communist movement was of exceptional importance in the ideological and political growth and organizational strengthening of the young party on a Marxist-Leninist basis and the further concretizing of the concept of the development of Mongolia toward socialism.

The talk between the delegation of the party which had just been formed, and which included Sukhe-Bator, and Lenin, which took place in November 1921, was of crucial importance to the party. Lenin had warmly welcomed the victorious struggle waged by the Mongolian working people for national and social liberation. His advice on the possibility of leading the country to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage, and his thought that the only proper way for the Mongolian people in its struggle for national and social liberation was its alliance with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, were of guiding significance to the party and the historical destinies of the Mongolian people. He rated highly the leading and organizing role played by the MNRP in the victory of the revolution in Mongolia and saw in strengthening the influence of the party and the people's regime the most important prerequisite for the successful implementation of the tasks of noncapitalist development. Lenin particularly emphasized the need to make the party a mass organization and to prevent the penetration of alien class elements within it. He ascribed great significance to the growth of cooperatives and to the creation of new forms of economic management and national culture in resolving the problem of transition to socialism. It is only from the small islands of the new economic system, Lenin said, that the new noncapitalist economic system of arat Mongolia will appear (see op. cit., vol 44, p 232-233).

Lenin's historical advice, which armed the MNRP with the basic ideas for a scientifically substantiated program for the country's development, was the foundation for all further activities by our party. Based on the clear Marxist-Leninist concepts, the MNRP undertook the implementation of anti-imperialist and antifeudal general democratic changes.

Taking into consideration the complex internal and external situation, the ratio of class forces and, in particular, the great influence of the Lamaist religion on the people, during the first years of the revolution the party deemed it expedient to retain the country's constitutional monarchy. In accordance with the so-called "sworn contract," which was concluded in November 1921 between the people's revolutionary government and the head of the Lamaist church, the latter had the right to manage church affairs only, while the full power of the state was assumed by the people's government.

Immediately after the victory of the revolution, the MNRP undertook to make changes aimed, above all, at strengthening the gains of the revolution. With the selfless aid of the Soviet Union in the liberation struggle waged by the Mongolian people, the country's territory was definitively purged of foreign occupation forces. Debts to foreign companies were canceled. Serfdom was abolished. The land was nationalized and taxes in kind charged by the feudal lords were abrogated. Elections for local power bodies were held in the country in 1923 and 1924. This dealt a decisive blow at one of the political foundations of feudalism--the hereditary rights of ruling princes. The local authorities passed essentially into the hands of the toiling peasantry. These and many other steps aimed at strengthening the gains of the people's revolution contributed to the growth of the political self-awareness of the toiling masses and to strengthening among them the party's authority and trust in the people's system.

It was under those circumstances that the 3rd MNRP Congress was held in August 1924. It gave a decisive rebuff to the opportunistic elements which had tried to take the country down the capitalist way. It approved the party's general line of leading the country toward socialism, bypassing capitalism. The congress's resolutions reflected the main ideas of the theses formulated by the Central Committee "On the Future of the Mongolian People's Revolution." The resolutions adopted by the congress stipulated that "Mongolia should not repeat the path already crossed by other peoples in the world, which is one of painful capitalist slavery, but must develop in the spirit of a true people's regime, in accordance with contemporary international developments." This clear party political line was subsequently refined and concretized in its second program, which was adopted at the 4th Congress in 1925.

At its 3rd Congress the party formulated specific tasks for the implementation of its general line. Great attention was paid to the development and strengthening of state and cooperative ownership, restricting emerging capitalist elements and ensuring the further comprehensive enhancement of the leading role of the party and the strengthening of its ranks. The congress particularly emphasized the exceptional importance of the comprehensive strengthening of Mongolian-Soviet friendship--the main and decisive factor in the development of the country toward socialism.

Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist theory of the possibility of a transition of backward and underdeveloped countries to socialism, bypassing capitalism, became the general line of MNRP activities. This precisely determined the historical significance and the special role which the 3rd Congress played in our party's history.

The first Great People's Hural was held 2 months after the historical 3rd Party Congress, in November 1924. It adopted the first constitution, according to which Mongolia was proclaimed a people's republic. According to the constitution, now all the power belonged to the toiling people, who were granted extensive democratic freedoms and political rights. The founding of the republic definitively consolidated the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the toiling people, the political foundation of which were the people's hurals.

As the course of revolutionary change intensified, the party waged an irreconcilable struggle both against right-wing opportunists, who represented the interests of growing bourgeois elements and who tried to direct Mongolia's development down the path of capitalism, as well as against the "left-wing" deviationists who, essentially, were pursuing the same objective as the right wing, and against the various manifestations of nationalism, which threatened a separation from the international struggle for socialism, which had been initiated by Lenin's party and the Soviet people, something which could lead the party to national isolation.

The choice of a socialist future in the development of the country and the thesis officially proclaimed at the 4th MNR Congress to the effect that in its activities the party is guided by the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and that the study of Marxism-Leninism is the duty of every party member, were a crucial point in the process of its growth and tempering on the basis of the ideological and organizational principles of a Marxist-Leninist party of a new type, and the party's conversion to the positions of scientific socialism.

It is universally known that the conversion of one country or another to socialism takes place on the basis of universal laws. This has been theoretically substantiated by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed through the practical experience of the countries of real socialism. At the same time, however, in resolving the problems of building socialism, Marxism-Leninism does not exclude but, conversely, presumes the need for comprehensive consideration of national, historical and other characteristics of the individual country.

The opportunists of the Second International, Lenin pointed out, felt "totally alien to any idea to the effect that despite the general law governing the development of universal history, individual periods of development, representing characteristic forms or systems of such a development, were not excluded in the least but, conversely, were presumed to exist.... Our European philistines cannot even conceive of the fact that further revolutions made in immeasurably richer oriental countries, in terms of population and variety of social conditions, would bring about an unquestionably greater number of features than the Russian Revolution" (op. cit., vol 45, pp 379, 381). Furthermore, Lenin repeatedly emphasized that "all nations will reach socialism. This is inevitable. However, not all of them will accomplish this in precisely the same way. Each one of them will contribute characteristics in terms of one form of democracy or another, or one variety or another of dictatorship of the proletariat or pace of socialist transformation in the various aspects of social life" (op. cit., vol 30, p 123). These fundamental Marxist-Leninist ideas are of basic significance, particularly in interpreting the experience of the MNR.

Mongolia's specific historical conditions and national characteristics were reflected in the stages of the people's revolution, the pace, methods and length of revolutionary changes and the consistency in resolving the various political, socioeconomic and cultural education problems. The Mongolian revolution covered two stages in its historical development: the general democratic and the socialist.

During the first stage, which lasted nearly 20 years (1921-1940), in the course of a stubborn struggle, the party systematically engaged in making democratic changes. From the very beginning, the MNRP closely linked the objectives of general democratic change with a socialist future. The democratic changes which took place in the political, economic, cultural and other areas of social life were an intermediate preparatory stage for the transition to socialism. The Mongolian experience confirmed that in countries which progress from precapitalist relations to socialism, bypassing capitalism, general democratic and socialist changes are a mutually complementing and intertwined process which, in the final account, ends with laying the foundations for a socialist society.

Therefore, while resolving general democratic problems as a whole, the Mongolian revolution also created the material and spiritual prerequisites for a transition to socialism.

Let us note that despite the originality of the transition of the country from feudalism to socialism, bypassing capitalism, the revolutionary changes took place in accordance with the general laws inherent in all countries which take the path of socialism. One of the specific features here was that individual laws were manifested in a peculiar and sometimes unique aspect. For example, for 3 years the people's state existed as a theocratic constitutional monarchy. During the first period of the revolution, when the country still lacked a working class, the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry was established not on a national but an international scale, in the form of a class international alliance between the Mongolian working people and the working class of Soviet Russia.

The general laws were manifested in the fact that this alliance was of decisive importance in the successful development of all the stages of the progress made by our country--gaining and strengthening state independence, making democratic and socialist changes, building socialism and protecting the gains of the people's revolution. The international alliance between the Mongolian working people and the working class in the Soviet Union are still benefiting the building of socialism in our country and are practically manifested in the fraternal friendship, mutual aid and all-round cooperation between the MNR and the USSR. To this day as well the Marxist-Leninist vanguards of our peoples--the MNRP and the CPSU--are the forces which inspire and bind together this class alliance.

The main results of the general democratic changes were the definitive elimination of the political and economic foundations of feudalism, removing foreign commercial-usurious capital from the country's economy, creating a socialist national economic sector, strengthening state sovereignty in the course of a fierce struggle against foreign and domestic enemies, successfully developing centers for contemporary culture, public education, improved living standards and establishing the initial detachments of a national working class and a people's intelligentsia. All of this created the necessary prerequisites for the country's transition to a socialist development stage.

The 10th MNRCP Congress, which was held in 1940, noted that the country had firmly taken the noncapitalist way of development. The congress adopted the third MNRCP program, which included the tasks of the next stage--laying the foundations for socialism in the MNR

The same year, the 8th Great People's Hural legislatively codified the results of the general democratic changes which had taken place in the country. The constitution it adopted stipulated that the Mongolian People's Republic is an independent state of toiling arats, workers and intellectuals, ensuring a noncapitalist way of development of the country for a transition to socialism in the future.

The leading and organizing role of the MNRCP significantly increased with the advent of the new stage of development. The economic-organizational and cultural-educational activities of the people's state, which gradually undertook to perform the functions of the dictatorship of the working class, increased. This was manifested in the strengthening of the planned foundations for party and state management of the economy and cultural construction, the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of unity between party and people. As a result of the proper policy of the party and the selfless aid of the Soviet Union, step by step the positions of the socialist sector strengthened in the national economy. Industry, modern transportation and communications, as new sectors which developed under the people's regime, and state farms were the property of the state, of the whole nation. Consumer and industrial cooperations developed extensively and so did peasant production associations in agriculture, which also developed during the democratic stage of the revolution as a cooperative form of ownership. State and cooperative trade assumed a decisive position in turnover. The people's state took over the financial-credit system and foreign trade.

By assuming such command positions in the economy, and on their basis, the people's state systematically fulfilled its organizing and controlling functions in close connection with the gradual socialist reorganization of the entire economic system. The purpose of this policy was, above all, while supporting the initiative of the basic toiling masses--the private farmers--who tried to develop their farms on the basis of their own labor and to improve their living conditions and conscientiously to carry out their obligations to the state, firmly to restrict the possibility of developing farms of an exploiting type by the wealthy peasant strata, prospering through hired labor.

The party and the people's state worked hard to support and develop the socialist sector in agriculture, particularly by convincing the toiling peasants of the advantages of collective farming based on joint labor and public ownership of means of production, and giving the arats political, economic and organizational assistance in organizing their lives on the basis of new socialist principles.

By the end of the 1950s, under the leadership of the MNRCP and with the extensive support of the people's masses, the cooperativization of the private farms, based on the principles of the Leninist cooperative plan, was successfully completed. This meant establishing socialist production

relations throughout the economy which, under Mongolian conditions, eliminated once and for all the reasons for the exploitation of man by man. Public ownership of means of production in its two forms--state and cooperative--became the country's economic foundations. The general party line of the development of the country toward socialism, bypassing capitalism, triumphed. These historical accomplishments of the Mongolian people were legislatively codified in the 1960 MNR Constitution.

Under circumstances in which the imperialist colonial system suffered a total collapse, our experience is influencing and will continue to influence the choice which the liberated countries are making in selecting their way to social progress. "...It would be erroneous to assume that the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for backward nationalities," Lenin pointed out (op. cit., vol 41, p 246). Mongolia's historical experience clearly proved the unquestionable validity of this prediction. The basic conditions for turning a possible noncapitalist development into reality are the establishment and broadening of close ties between liberated countries and the countries of real socialism and the international communist and worker movements, and reliance on their aid and support.

The desire of the peoples of developing countries to attain the heights of contemporary progress inevitably forces them to choose effective ways of achieving this objective. A number of Asian and African countries, including Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and South Yemen, made their choice by taking the road of noncapitalist development. The Mongolian communists and working people are firmly convinced that the historical accomplishments and successes achieved by our country confirm most clearly the unalterable truth and vital strength of Marxist-Leninist theory and its exclusive value as the scientific base for changes in social life in the interest and for the good of the toiling masses.

With the completion of the transitional period from feudalism and laying the foundations for socialism, by 1960 socialist production relations had become entirely dominant in all economic sectors. However, socialist industrialization, which is the material and technical foundation for socialism and which can reorganize agriculture as well, had not been fully achieved. In this connection, a peculiar situation developed in our country, which would obviously be experienced by other countries converting from feudalism to socialism, while bypassing capitalism. Following the victory of the foundations of socialism, the MNR did not enter the period of building a developed socialist society, as had been the case in the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries. In our country, after the foundations for socialism had been laid and on its basis, a period of total building of a socialist society followed. Its main task was to complete laying the material and technical foundations for socialism through further industrialization and converting the MNR into an industrial-agrarian country.

The tasks at that stage in building socialism in the MNR, defined in the new party program adopted at the 15th Congress in 1966, were resolved under more favorable conditions. Socialism began to develop on its own base. Under these circumstances, the economic and other laws of socialism began to

function on a nationwide scale and opened extensive opportunities for the rapid development of social production forces.

More than 20 years have passed since the MNR entered its new stage of development. Since then, headed by the MNRP and with the all-round aid and support of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist commonwealth, through their persistent efforts the Mongolian working people achieved great successes in building socialism.

Profound quantitative and qualitative changes are continuing to take place in the structure and development rates of production forces. The country's economy is becoming increasingly industrialized. Industry, construction, transportation and communications--the modern industrialized material production sectors--are developing rapidly.

Compared to 1960, the gross national product had quadrupled by 1984 and the national income had tripled. The sectorial structure of public production is being perfected.

Along with the traditional agricultural sector--animal husbandry--crop growing rapidly developed on the virgin lands. Today Mongolian agriculture consists of hundreds of large socialist enterprises--state farms and agricultural associations--which own approximately one-sixth of the means of production of the entire national economy. They generate roughly the same share of the gross national product and the country's national income and account for nearly 20 percent of the country's exports.

Industry, the output of which has more than doubled since 1960, accounts for nearly one-third of the country's national income. Currently the country produces 2,500 different types of industrial goods, some 80 of which are exported to more than 20 different countries. The high pace of the country's industrialization may be judged, for example, by the fact that in less than one-quarter of a century coal extraction in Mongolia increased by a factor of 9 and electric power production by a factor of almost 17.

The territorial distribution of production forces is improving. In 1983 alone capital investments in the national economy exceeded investments between 1941 and 1960 by nearly one-half. Currently almost one-third of the industrial output comes from the new industrial centers which were established over the past 20 years: Darhan, Erdenet, Choybalsan, Baga-Nur and others. The Erdenet Ore Mining and Concentration Combine, the Mongolsovtsvetmet Economic Association--symbols of fraternal friendship between the MNR and the USSR--which are joint enterprises owned by our countries, are the pride of Mongolian industry. This is not merely a question of the growth of the national wealth, although this too is quite important. Side by side with specialists from the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community, working together, domestic cadres of workers and specialists are gaining experience and ideological and political training. The working class--the leading force in Mongolian society--is strengthening. It is this aspect of joint work that we consider particularly significant.

The fact that compared with 1960 Mongolian foreign trade has increased by a factor of nearly 7 is proof of the country's expanding foreign economic relations. The export and import structure is improving. Nearly 40 percent of the exports come from the ore mining industry while three-quarters of the imports consist of machines, equipment and materials, i.e., of items used in industrial production.

A higher power-labor ratio and professional training and conscientiousness of the workers led to the fact that labor productivity per person employed in the national economy in 1983 was higher by a factor of more than 6 compared with 1940. This was paralleled by a significant increase in the size of the labor force. The level of material well-being and the cultural standards of the working people are steadily improving as a result of the fast growth of public production. Since 1960 per capita national income has increased by 60 percent and real population income has more than doubled. The population's monetary income has increased by a factor of 3.7. Correspondingly, retail trade has been increasing rapidly. Public consumption funds are assuming a growing importance in enhancing the living standard of the population. They account for almost 30 percent of the population's overall consumption. In slightly more than 10 years state and cooperative housing facilities have increased by a factor of 2.4.

Under the people's regime profound changes have taken place in the spiritual life of the Mongolian people. Today 44 percent of the working people are graduates of higher or secondary (full and partial) schools. The problem of universal eighth-grade education of school-age children was resolved successfully. Preparations are under way for converting to full secondary education. Today one out of every four Mongolians is a student. A new type of people developed in the republic as a result of the socialist cultural revolution: patriots, internationalists and active builders of socialism.

MNRP efforts to surmount the ideology of Lamaism have played a most important role in uplifting the spiritual forces of the people and their vital energy. Our historians have still not found the reasons for the mass dissemination of this variety of religious faith in Mongolia. At the start of the revolution, lamas accounted for more than 40 percent of the male population. They did not participate in any sort of public production and were forbidden to have children. Combined with the extreme poverty of the overwhelming majority of the population and the absence of medical care, this factually doomed the nation to slow extinction.

A firm and irreversible end was put to this process by 1940. Gradually, the former lamas turned to work and to the happiness of family life. This is one of the greatest ideological and social gains of the people's state. Today there are 109 hospital beds and about 100 medical workers with secondary and higher training per 10,000 population in a country which only 60 years ago had no state health care system. Under the people's regime, thanks to the creation of a network of medical services and tremendous medical prevention work, the country's population tripled.

The people's regime gave all working people, regardless of social status and ethnic origin, real political freedoms and social rights. They include the

right to work, free education and medical care and active participation in the administration of the state and in resolving all governmental and public problems. Full equality between the sexes has been ensured in all areas of social life.

From the height of today's accomplishments, looking back at the great path of struggle and victories they have covered, the Mongolian communists and the working people in our country link all of their achievements with the tremendous aid and support of the great Soviet Union, with a feeling of deep gratitude. As the prototype of subsequently developed real socialism and relations of equal and true fraternal cooperation among countries, Mongolian-Soviet relations, imbued with sincerity and warm friendship, are a model of socialist internationalism in action. Such fraternal relations are extremely instructive to the young liberated countries. Long historical experience proves that nationwide rebuff has invariably accompanied and, unquestionably, will accompany in the future, the ideological subversions by imperialists and their accomplices, who are operating under a great variety of guises and are trying to drive a wedge in fraternal Mongolian-Soviet relations, to encourage nationalism and to misrepresent the history of the fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples.

Hallowed by the victories and successes of decades of joint struggle against the common enemy and of peaceful constructive toil on the front of economic and cultural construction, the working people in our country have developed the inflexible belief that the combat alliance between the MNR and the CPSU, the fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and the all-round cooperation between the MNR and the USSR in all fields of social life are a priceless accomplishment and the greatest revolutionary gain and prime foundation for further success in completing the laying of the material and technical foundations for socialism.

Such high developments of fraternal Mongolian-Soviet relations, at the origins of which great Lenin and the fearless Sukhe-Bator stood, were achieved on the basis of the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The CPSU and the MNR were their directing and cementing force. To this day these relations are dynamically developing in all areas of social life--political, economic, ideological and defense--reaching even higher levels, expanding and intensifying with every passing year, enriching themselves with new forms and gaining a new content.

The decisive aid and support of the great Soviet people were the elusive base of the victory in the revolutionary battles against White Guard gangs, the joint battles waged against the Japanese militarists in 1939 in the area of the Khalkhin-Gol River and the liberation battles for the liquidation of the Far Eastern hotbed of World War II in 1945, which marked the victorious completion of the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War, the 40th anniversary the end of which we shall widely celebrate next year. G. K. Zhukov, K. K. Rokossovskiy, I. S. Konev, R. Ya. Malinovskiy, I. A. Pliyev, N. N. Voronov, V. A. Sudets, I. I. Fedyuninskiy and other outstanding military commanders and Soviet army leaders watched over the revolutionary gains of the Mongolian people and participated in the battles fought on Mongolian soil shoulder to shoulder with the Mongolian soldiers headed by Marshal Choybalsan.

In a word, in the struggle for the upsurge of the economy, well-being and culture of the people, the multiplication of socialist gains and strengthened defense capability, the MNR has always relied on the disinterested aid of its loyal friend and ally, the great Soviet Union. Suffice it to point out that in the current five-year plan alone 340 most important national economic projects are being built, reconstructed or expanded with the technical and economic assistance of the USSR. They include most important projects such as the Baganur coal mine, the TETs-4, hundreds of kilometers of power transmission cables, cement-lime, house-building and bread-baking combines, a dairy plant, virgin land state and other farms for the production of animal feed, hospitals, children's establishments and hundreds of thousands of square meters of housing. The capacity of the joint Mongolian-Soviet ore mining and concentration enterprises will be increased significantly. All of this will create favorable opportunities for increasing the growth rates of the economy and upgrading its efficiency. It will help us to ensure the steady upsurge of the well-being of the people, develop the rich national resources of the country at a growing scale, increase exports, apply the achievements of contemporary science and technology in the national economy and train national cadres.

The talks which were held in Moscow in October 1944 reasserted our common resolve to continue comprehensively to strengthen and broaden the ties of friendship and brotherhood between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples and the close alliance between the MNR and the CPSU, our Marxist-Leninist vanguards. The results of these talks and meetings with Soviet leaders will unquestionably give a new impetus to the further intensification and enhanced efficiency of fraternal cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, and will have a beneficial influence on the entire set of Mongolian-Soviet relations, which are becoming increasingly dynamic and deeper with every passing year.

Active participation in CEMA, which Mongolia joined in 1962, opens new outstanding prospects for the development of fruitful economic and scientific and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. This is determined by the fact that the international socialist division of labor and the development of integration processes consistent with the national and international interests of the participating members, consciously and in a planned manner controlled by the fraternal communist and worker parties, ensure the further intensification and advancement of close ties and relations among them in all realms of social life and, in the final account, an equalizing of the levels of economic development among CEMA member countries. Let us take as an example the comprehensive program for the further intensification and advancement of cooperation in the development of socialist economic integration, which requires the adoption of measures aimed at ensuring the accelerated growth and increased efficiency of the Mongolian economy and, in particular, the joint construction and operation of industrial and other national economic projects, the use of stimulating foreign trade prices of agricultural and industrial commodities exported by Mongolia whenever necessary, assisting the country in the development of science and technology and training national cadres, etc. Such measures have been systematically implemented during the fulfillment of the comprehensive program

and have had a considerable positive influence on the rates of economic growth in our country.

The results of the summit economic conference of CEMA member countries, which took place in Moscow in 1984 and which became a major event in the life of the socialist community, was of exceptional importance in the further strengthening of the economic and scientific and technical potential of the countries of real socialism. The decisions of the conference determine the strategy of expanding comprehensive cooperation in the interest of developing the national economies of the individual fraternal countries and the socialist community as a whole. In particular, they call for coordinating economic policy on a long-term basis, improving the coordination of national economic plans, accelerating the process of socialist economic integration and giving fraternal aid to the individual countries in accelerating their development and upgrading the efficiency of the economies of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia.

With a view to the practical implementation of the decisions adopted at the conference, the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the MNR in 1986-1990 and on a longer-range basis, call for the fuller utilization of the possibilities of such cooperation in resolving most important national economic problems. The planning and other bodies in the MNR are coordinating with the respective organizations of the other CEMA member countries their plans for 1986-1990 on problems of mutual interest. The MNR is also interested in studying collective experience in socialist economic management with a view to its subsequent extensive utilization under domestic conditions, this being an important reserve for accelerating socioeconomic development, production intensification and improved efficiency.

"In the course of their constructive work," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at the Moscow meeting in October 1984, "the Mongolian friends can, as in the past, rely on the support of the fraternal countries. This was reemphasized at the summit economic conference of CEMA members. Socialist economic integration offers Mongolia broad opportunities for progress. As to our party and Soviet people, we shall continue to help in a fraternal fashion our Mongolian friends in any way we can."

Under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard--the MNRP--and with the help and support of the great Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the Mongolian people are confidently working for the implementation of the resolutions of the 18th MNRP Congress and the subsequent plenums of its Central Committee and for completing the building of the material and technical foundations for socialism.

The peaceful constructive efforts of the fraternal peoples and the greatly increased attractiveness of real socialism, which is proving its indisputable advantages, are taking place in a situation marked by a sharp class struggle between the two opposite global systems, under circumstances marked by the growing aggressiveness of adventuristic imperialist policy.

Today we are witnessing new imperialist attempts at belittling the socioeconomic successes of the most dynamically developing group of countries in the world--the countries of real socialism--and at misrepresenting the

foreign policy and specific activities of the USSR and the other members of the world socialist community in the international arena, and the use of terrorism and violence in forcing revolutionary-liberation forces to abandon the struggle for national and social liberation and turn history back.

Such is the essence of Washington's course of global confrontation with socialism and the anticommunist and anti-Soviet hysteria and large-scale provocations it had whipped up against the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. Gross interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign countries, acts of naked military aggression and the provocation of reactionary coups characterize the policy of state terrorism pursued by the United States, which is unwilling to tolerate a new global ratio of forces.

The thoughtless policy of the current U.S. administration and its NATO allies has aggravated to the extreme the international situation. They are stubbornly trying to disturb the actually existing military-strategic parity and to secure for themselves dominating positions in the world by all available ways and means. As a result, the sinister danger of nuclear war is becoming increasingly real.

The policy and the practical actions of imperialist forces are rising tension throughout the world. The main cause for increased danger in Europe is the deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missiles in accordance with Washington's imperial ambitions. Its maniacal aspiration to impose its will on independent countries and peoples by force is aggravating conflict situations in various parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

An alarming situation prevails in Asia--the most densely populated continent in the world. Here nuclear weapon arsenals are increasing through U.S. efforts. The explosive situation in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf continues. The undeclared war against the Afghan people and encroachments on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India and the revolutionary gains of the fraternal peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are increasing. Military and political cooperation among the United States, Japan and South Korea is intensifying. Japanese militarism, which is establishing practical relations with NATO, is being revived. A rapprochement between the forces of imperialism and hegemonism is continuing.

Under these circumstances, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, including Mongolia, are pursuing an even more persistent and purposeful principle-minded peaceful Leninist foreign policy. They are coordinating more closely their specific activities and actions in the international arena, the results of which are contributing extensively to the further strengthening of their unity and cohesion. The Soviet Union, which has formulated a broad range of constructive initiatives and suggestions, which offer the only realistic way for a radical improvement in the international climate, remains the invariable vanguard of the forces of peace. The Soviet initiatives and suggestions, including those formulated at the 39th UN General Assembly Session, offer the possibility of removing from mankind the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe, preventing the militarization of space, restraining the arms race and undertaking the freezing, reduction and,

subsequently, elimination of armaments, nuclear above all, and developing equal and peaceful international cooperation.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, has repeatedly and most clearly stated that the Soviet Union favors honest, serious and specific talks and a dialogue based on the just principle of equality and identical security without, however, allowing anyone to gain military superiority over it.

The MNR support entirely and fully all the initiatives and suggestions formulated by the Soviet Union. It totally approves the forced responsive measures taken to strengthen the defense capability of the USSR, for this also means strengthening the defense capability of the entire socialist community.

The members of the socialist community, including the Mongolian people, well realize that one cannot beg for peace. Peace must be defended and one must struggle for it with all of one's strength. The struggle for peace is today the most urgent problem confronting mankind. Today millions of people of all political and religious convictions and population strata, are joining the ranks of the fighters for peace, aware of the urgency of this struggle.

The Mongolian people as well are trying to make a contribution to this common struggle for peace and security. Our country, which takes into consideration the political realities of the area, in the interest of assisting in the strengthening of the foundations of peace and security, has suggested the conclusion of a convention on reciprocal nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations among Asian and Pacific Ocean countries. Today, when the very existence of humankind is seriously threatened, the right of the peoples to live in peace must be consolidated on a political-legal basis; the legitimacy of their struggle for securing for themselves a peaceful life must be asserted. It is on this basis that Mongolia submitted for consideration the question "On the Right of the Peoples for Peace" at the 29th UN General Assembly Session. The peace-loving suggestions submitted by the MNR are consistent with the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community.

The growing economic and defense power of real socialism and the active efforts of antiwar forces the world over instill confidence that peace and security can be defended.

The party's leading and guiding role is increasing steadily with the growing scale of public production and the greater complexity of the problems of the economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development of society. The MNR is guided in its practical activities by a clear understanding of this law of building socialism. At the same time, it arms all MNR members with the understanding of the inevitable fact that the party's leading role is not a god-given gift. It has been gained through the hard, heroic and long efforts of the first generations of Mongolian communists. The further growth of its role is not a product of spontaneous development but the result of the dedicated work of every party organization and a model of implementation of production and sociopolitical duty by every party member in his assigned sector.

Lenin himself pointed out that a mass governmental party "reflects some of the things which happen outside its ranks" (op. cit., vol 43, p 16). The party members, who must always openly act in such a way that this "something", which remains from the old customs and mores will not affect them but, conversely, will make them dedicate their entire life, work and moral example to proving what a true fighter for completing the building of socialism on Mongolian soil should be. This also means the implementation of their vanguard role and ensuring the growing leading role of the party, which is inseparably related to the growth of its political and moral authority among the masses.

Considering concern for the steady upsurge in the well-being and cultural standards of the people as the cornerstone of its efforts, at its 18th congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums the party earmarked a specific program for action in all realms of social life. In the course of its successful implementation, the MNRP is systematically and persistently strengthening party and state discipline, comprehensively improving the level of organization and intensifying the responsibility of cadres for their assignments. The party is currently directing the efforts toward problems of economic construction: upgrading work efficiency and quality, increasing labor productivity, observing a regimen of thrift, further increasing the country's economic potential and successfully completing the current five-year plan. These topical problems of the country's economic and social development are focal points of attention in the course of the preparations for the next party congress, above all in formulating the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the Country during the 8th Five-Year Plan and on a longer-range basis, through the year 2000.

All of our party's activities are directed and will be directed toward the systematic implementation of the domestic and foreign policy formulated at its 18th congress. Another clear demonstration of this was the extraordinary 8th Central Committee Plenum (August 1984) which confirmed the continuity of the policy of MNRP leadership and the inviolable unity between party and people. Reality demands of the party steadily to concentrate its attention on improving the style of party leadership and all political and organizational work, to upgrade the militancy of primary party organizations as the political staffs of the labor collectives, to be concerned with strengthening the creative activeness of party members and all working people in the struggle for the implementation of the economic and social policy of the MNRP, systematically to expand and intensify socialist democracy and to enhance the effectiveness of the internationalist, moral and labor upbringing of the growing generation.

The party considers as exceptionally important the steady strengthening of live ties with the working people. It reacts sensitively to their needs and demands. Every step we take toward communism will be more complex and difficult. Lenin taught us that "...the more difficult, the greater and more responsible the new historical task becomes, the more people there should be, millions of people, who must become involved in independent participation in the solution of such problems" (op. cit., vol 36, p 446). In order to accomplish this, the party must truly live in the very thick of the masses. It must always know the feelings of the people. It must "soberly follow the

actual condition of consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (and not only of its communist vanguard)" as Lenin taught, "precisely of all toiling masses (rather than its progressive people only)" (op. cit. vol 41, p 42).

The importance of the extensive involvement of the working people with the administration of society, the state and production process becomes increasingly important as the scale of socialist construction widens. In turn, this requires the steady development and advancement of the democratic foundations of management and the entire system of state bodies, above all the heralds of people's deputies and their state management bodies. Under the guidance of the party organizations, the participation of the working people in the administration of the state and the production process takes place in a great variety of forms. The mass public organizations--trade unions, the revolutionary youth league, the women's organizations and the people's control bodies--play an ever-increasing role in this respect.

Forms of mass work of party, public and state organizations, such as developing the socialist competition, nationwide discussion of drafts of most important legislation, national economic plans and holding production conferences in labor collectives assume growing importance in upgrading the political and labor activeness of the working people and in the administration of society and production.

Through its Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policy and comprehensive practical activities for its implementation, the MNR has earned the high trust and love of the people. The increased prestige of the MNR is also related to its inflexible principled internationalist position in the international communist and worker movements.

Our party and Mongolian people have already entered the period of completing the five-year plan and preparations for the next MNR congress. Naturally, we sum up with great satisfaction our accomplishments and our gains which have become the standard of our life.

As we begin preparations for the next MNR Congress, we must not only sum up achievements but try to look at the future as well without, naturally, building castles in the air, but strictly on the basis of reality.

Under the leadership of the MNR, the resolutions of the 18th Party Congress and the assignments of the 7th Five-Year Plan are being successfully implemented in their basic features. The Mongolian people are welcoming the 60th anniversary of the 3rd Party Congress and the founding of the MNR rallied even more closely around their battle vanguard--the MNR--fully resolved to work persistently, with dedication and creativity under its leadership, for the sake of implementing its programmatic tasks in completing the laying of

the material and technical foundations for socialism. This progress and the inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries are a guarantee of success in everything and the triumph of the cause of socialism in Mongolia.

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IDEOLOGICAL TASKS OF WEST GERMAN COMMUNISTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND LABOR

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[Article by Willi Gerns, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the German Communist Party]

[Text] In January 1984 the Seventh Congress of the German Communist Party (DKP) was held in Nurnberg. It was held under the slogan "Peace Must Conquer! Now more than ever before struggle is necessary under the slogan: 'Work Not Missiles'!" The congress took place directly after the beginning of the deployment of new American first-strike nuclear weapons in the FRG and in the conditions of continuing mass unemployment. The problems of the struggle for peace and work were at the center of attention of its work. These problems also determine all the activities of communists in the FRG which, very naturally, also relate to ideological work.

The most aggressive circles of imperialism react to the profound changes in the correlation of forces in the world in favor of socialism by intensifying anticommunism. While counting on nuclear mass destruction means, they strive to organize a "crusade" against real socialism in particular against the Soviet Union. In this respect they allow the possibility of carrying out a first nuclear strike from the territory of the FRG. The ruling coalition of right-wing forces in Bonn does not oppose these plans, but, on the contrary, having approved the deployment of new American Pershing-II missiles and cruise missiles in the FRG, it aids their implementation.

With the beginning of the deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons on the country's territory a new situation has taken shape, primarily in that the danger of a nuclear catastrophe arising has increased. The task of the DKP's ideological work lies in clearly pointing out this increased threat of war, explaining its causes, and thereby strengthening the peace movement to such an extent as to prevent a nuclear war from beginning from the territory of the FRG.

It is urgently necessary to make people aware of the fact that the threat of war has grown because a certain section of the population believed the government's false propagandist statements that it would be possible to

further develop normal relations between East and West in spite of the deployment of the new American first-strike weapons. The government cites as proof of this the fact that negotiations are continuing in Stockholm, while the leaders of the Soviet Union and the GDR are receiving West German politicians in Moscow and in Berlin.

West German communists are faced with the task of explaining to the citizens of the FRG that ceasing the deployment of missiles and liquidating those nuclear systems already deployed has very great significance for the further existence of our people. At the same time the substance and meaning of the policy pursued by the socialist countries of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems must be explained to people. Speaking in March this year at a conference on the problems of party training, chairman of the DKP Herbert Miles said: "We must devote more serious attention to the concrete facts of imperialism's military policy. We must reveal the secrets and expose the true state of affairs concerning the nuclear arms race pursued by the United States and its preparation for a nuclear war. We must show that in connection with the continuation of the imperialist policy of pursuing the arms race, and contrary to all the assurances given by the Bonn government, since December 1983 the threat of war has increased even more. The situation could be even worse if it were not for the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries which are really doing everything possible so as to at least limit the damage done by the deployment of these missiles. The socialist countries take into account the fact that the deployment of Pershings and cruise missiles is leading to a change in the military balance in favor of imperialism. In order to prevent this, they are taking military countermeasures. At the same time the deployment of missiles is aimed at halting and reversing the process of detente between the capitalist and socialist countries of Europe, that is, it pursues the aim of cancelling out all the positive changes brought about on our continent during the last decade. If the states of the socialist community broke off political dialogue and economic relations with the West European countries, then they would thereby be playing into Reagan's hands. This would be tantamount to voluntarily renouncing everything which has been struggled for in Europe for more than one decade. But although the socialist countries do strive to limit the damage done by the deployment of new missiles and to continue dialogue between East and West, they do not overlook the fact that precisely since December 1983 a shadow has been cast on the development of relations between East and West by these nuclear missiles..."

The significant upsurge in the peace movement in recent years has been in response to the danger emanating from American first-strike nuclear weapons. This movement has become the most powerful democratic mass movement in the history of the FRG. In spite of all kinds of attempts to manipulate public opinion, it has succeeded in ensuring that the majority of our people are against the new American nuclear missiles. Perhaps one can even say that in matters of peace people have changed in recent years in the FRG.

All this has great significance for the further development of the peace movement, and also of other democratic movements. But at the same time we must soberly appraise the real substance of peace-loving awareness as class awareness. Interesting in this respect are the results of a survey conducted

by the well-known Allensbach Institute for the Study of Public Opinion. Whereas during the 1950s, the 1960s and right up to the beginning of the 1970s the majority of FRG citizens expressed almost 100 percent trust in the United States, by the beginning of the 1980s (to be precise--1982) 52 percent of the population no longer answered in the affirmative the question of whether the United States is the "best friend" of West Germany; among sympathizers of the SPD 56 percent refused to call the United States their "best friend," and among supporters of the Greens party this figure even reached 74 percent.

Now another aspect of the problem. Under the influence of fascist propaganda and during the first postwar years, and later under the influence of the "Cold War," mistrust with regard to the "East," and particularly with regard to the Soviet Union, became firmly established and dominated right up until the 1960s and 1970s. Now, however, almost every 10th supporter of the CDU/CSU and the FDP state their trust in the Soviet Union, and among supporters of the SPD and the "Greens" these figures reach 16 and 31 percent respectively. A report by the director of the Bonn Federal Center for Political Education, Gerd Langgut [as transliterated] is also of interest. Officers of the Bundeswehr, who are specially trained for conducting propagandist work in schools and in youth groups, he writes, report "significantly increased doubts regarding the reliability and peaceableness of the American government and NATO; at the same time, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, both its willingness for peace and understanding of the sense of threat are noted."

In general and as a whole one can say that until the end of the 1960s mass awareness was determined by the formula forced upon it by the mass information media: "danger from the East," on the one hand, and friendship with the United States, on the other. If one tries to define in general terms today's mass awareness on the question of peace, it is expressed in a distancing from both "superpowers" and in the tendency toward increasing fear of U.S. policies. Of course, thinking in categories of "superpowers" is a negative factor. Struggling against this concept is among the most important tasks of the DKP's ideological work. However, compared to the former substance of mass awareness, changes have clearly taken place which can serve as a starting point for its further positive development.

Without underestimating the importance of the great successes in party work in shaping awareness within the ranks of the peace movement, it should be noted that these changes in the mass awareness have essentially taken place spontaneously, against the background of fear of nuclear catastrophe. However, this spontaneous beginning to a further change in awareness comes up against limits which are becoming increasingly narrow. The moment has now come when the conscious element and the conscious activities of communists begin to play an increasingly important role in ensuring the stability and further development of the peace movement.

The deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Europe has begun. Despite the immense efforts on the part of the peace movement this fateful development of events could not be stopped. In the light of these events it is difficult to overestimate the significance of the reaction of the greater part of the peace movement, which can be reduced to the formula: "Step up the Struggle!" Nevertheless, some circles within the movement tend to overestimate the might

of the missile mafia and underestimate the might of fighters for peace throughout the world. This could lead to resignation and capitulation just at the time when new and greater efforts are required to eliminate the danger which has increased in connection with the deployment of the new American missiles.

Realistic optimism must be instilled in people, an optimism based on an understanding of the main trends in the correlation of forces between those who incite war and those who oppose them. We must always (as it was emphasized at the Seventh DKP Congress) show that imperialism's increased aggressiveness is not a reflection of its greater vitality and strength. "Exactly the opposite," it was said at the congress. "It is reaction to the deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system, reaction to a whole chain of political, economic and military defeats in the international arena, to which precisely American imperialism had to reconcile itself in the 1970s."

Communists must make it clear again and again that never has the danger been so great, but, at the same time, never have the potentials been so great for preventing imperialism from unleashing a war. This conclusion will gain a firmer foothold in the people's consciousness and become a source of strength during further struggle for peace the more rapidly a picture is opened up before them of the universal potential of peace-loving forces, the growing peace movement, the struggle of anti-imperialist movements in the "Third World," and the Nonaligned Movement, and primarily as they become more aware of the leading role played by the socialist countries in the struggle for peace. To achieve this understanding is the task of communists within the ranks of the peace movement.

After the beginning of the development of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles the socialist countries were faced with the necessity of adopting countermeasures. In this connection the constructive proposals made by the socialist countries, which were aimed at liquidating the deployed missiles and as a result of which countermeasures would have been unnecessary, should be more actively propagandized. At the same time the importance of retaining the military-strategic balance as a factor in preserving peace must be made clear in order to prevent some supporters of the peace movement crossing over to antisocialist positions in connection with the necessitated countermeasures.

It was noted in the accountability report given at the Seventh DKP Congress that the Soviet Union cannot help but consider the real manifestations of imperialism's policies. One of these manifestations is Reagan's preparation for a nuclear war. In order to prevent these plans from being implemented they must be deprived of the slightest chance of success. Under no circumstances must the impression form in Washington that it has supposedly gained military superiority and will thus be able to bring real socialism to its knees with the aid of military force and avoid the consequences of a destructive counterstrike. As long as imperialism is armed and threatens war, socialism must also arm itself correspondingly--and in such a way that every aggressor is aware of the fact that he has no chance of success. It is precisely under this most important condition that imperialism can be forced to understand that there exists only one way to ensure the further existence of human civilization in the nuclear age. This way lies in the renunciation

of the use of military force in relations between states, in disarmament and in recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. West German communists must affirm this conclusion, formulated by the Seventh DKP Congress, even more strongly in the ranks of the peace movement.

Certain forces within this movement, acting under the slogan of some kind of "above-bloc peace movement," strive to unite the peace movement in the socialist countries. No one but us, communists, must--precisely in the interests of the peace movement--struggle against such views.

A prime task of communists' ideological work, as Herbert Mies particularly emphasized at the aforementioned congress, lies in even more convincingly explaining the causes of the growth in the threat of war, which are rooted exclusively in the aggressive policy of arms race and war pursued by imperialism. In the course of discussions on the causes of the threat of war and the arms race it is precisely with communists that the responsibility lies to tirelessly explain that it is a question of the fundamental problems of the class struggle. With the same consistency with which we have worked for the principles of parity and equal security of states, we must leave no doubt that socialism and imperialism cannot be put on the same level, just as revolution and counterrevolution cannot be put on the same level.

Communists must even more convincingly show that socialism as a social system of the working people is also a social system of universal peace between peoples. "In the socialist states, where exploitation of man by man has been eliminated," it is said in the materials of the congress, "there are no social forces prospering on the arms race and interested in war. All the policies of these states are aimed at ensuring that as few means as possible are used for military purposes and that the peoples can live in peace."

Communists must utilize indisputable historical facts and the entire arsenal of Marxist theory for refuting false allegations concerning the so-called "Soviet threat" in order to prove that the arms race, the threat of war and war in the contemporary world are caused by the domination of major capital, the hegemonic aspirations of imperialism and the thirst for gain inherent in the monopolies. In other words, the stability and success of the peace movement require more and more participants in this movement to acquire a class understanding of the causes of the arms race and the threat of a nuclear war and to be aware of the mutual connection between imperialism and war, and socialism and peace. But this kind of understanding will not come of itself. Here work is required of communists, work aimed at shaping people's awareness.

Communists also bear the full weight of responsibility to ensure that there is also henceforward cohesion between the peace movement and the workers movement. The chief weakness of the peace movement (despite all its successes) has been precisely this insufficient unity. It is precisely in this that the main political reason for its lack of success in preventing the deployment of new missiles lies. But it is here that the most important reserve of development of the peace movement is to be found. It is exceptionally important to explain the mutual connection between the problem

of peace and the problem of safeguarding work places in order to more firmly unite the peace movement and the workers movement.

While developing its ideological work, the DKP also sets itself new tasks in the political-economic sphere. Crisis processes gripping the capitalist economy continue to affect life in the FRG. Mass unemployment is not diminishing, but increasing, and at a rate that is a result of the capitalist utilization of microelectronics and industrial robots and the introduction of computers into production and design. The reduction in all forms of social expenditure (with the aim of reallocating the state budget in favor of financing military preparations and increasing the profits of employers) hits workers, employers, petty officials, young people, women and pensioners hard.

Our task is to counteract advocacy of so-called "inevitable victims" of technological progress, which is basically only a changed form of the ideology of "social partnership." Communists strive to establish awareness of the fact that only by proceeding from the personal interests of the working people, and only by their own efforts in production and in the trade unions and by the joint actions of the workers class in alliance with all the other strata of the working people is it possible to defend the vitally important social achievements of the working people and bring about the fulfillment of new and urgent demands--such as a 35-hour working week with full retention of wages, the adoption of an employment program directed against mass unemployment, the nationalization, under democratic control, of the steel and ship-building industries and so forth.

Recent class battles, primarily picketing of enterprises at the large shipyards of Hamburg and Bremen and also other enterprises, have shown that the more or less spontaneously arising attitude of "social partnership" has failed in the course of these actions. Some participants in the actions are even beginning to be aware of the role played here by the state. However, only the rudiments of true class awareness arise spontaneously and they can quickly evaporate if they are not consciously supported and developed.

It should be added to what has been said that it is very difficult to achieve direct success under the conditions in which the struggle is waged today. Disappointment is frequently the outcome of this; but this happens if the struggle aimed at fulfilling vital tasks fails to be channeled to antimonopolist alternatives and if the necessity of bringing about radical social changes and ultimately of fulfilling socialist aims is not understood. This kind of understanding can hardly arise of its own accord. Here the ideological influence of communists is required.

The demand that the working week be shortened while wages be retained in full today stands at the center of the struggle for work in the FRG as, incidentally, it does in other capitalist countries. The actions on the part of trade unions for a 35-hour working week have laid the foundations of one of the largest class battles in the history of the FRG. The ideological influence of trade union members who are aware from a class point of view, and primarily of communists, must be intensified in order to achieve success in this struggle.

The employers unions have developed an unparalleled slander campaign in connection with demands for a 35-hour working week. They want to prevent a shortening of the working week at any cost. After all, the superprofits of the monopolies must remain untouched! They strive to also utilize mass unemployment in the future as a truncheon for disciplining those workers who still have a job and as a means of exerting pressure for the purpose of further reducing real wages. The employers unions are doing everything to defeat the trade unions and to thereby worsen the conditions for further actions by the workers class.

This strategy meets with the full support of the parties of the ruling coalition and of the government itself. Chancellor Kohl, for example, has called the demand for a shorter working week "stupid and foolhardy," former minister of economics Graf Lambsdorff has painted a haunting picture of the collapse of the economy which would supposedly inevitably happen if this demand were to be met, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Genscher has called a 35-hour working week "poison."

The SPD leadership takes the opposite stand on this matter. It has stated that an information campaign is being begun on a nationwide scale in connection with the demand for a reduction in work time. This intention in itself can be welcomed. Perhaps the most powerful political force in the country's workers movement, the SPD could create a counterweight to the antitrade union campaign staged by the employers unions and the ruling parties. It is true that the value of the announced information offensive is significantly reduced, because precisely the demand for a 35-hour working week is not being presented as the most immediate in comparison to other demands which, although aimed at cutting down work time, are far less radical and occupy a less important place in today's struggle.

The Greens party also fails to take an unambiguous stand on this matter. As a rule, the Greens demand the full retention of wages only for those groups of workers with low salaries.

The only party which unreservedly supports the trade union campaign for the introduction of a 35-hour working week with full retention of wages is the DKP. As early as in its program adopted in 1978, the party gave central place to this demand when formulating immediate social, economic and political tasks. In his accountability report to the Seventh Congress, Herbert Mies emphasized: "The DKP fully supports the actions of the trade unions aimed at introducing a 35-hour working week with full retention of wages... The struggle against mass unemployment, for the preservation and creation of work places, for the rights and interests of the unemployed and for a 35-hour working week with full retention of wages is the highest class duty. This struggle has been, is, and continues to be a central task of the economic and social policies of our Marxist workers party and of all communists."

What do communists regard as their main ideological task in the cause of supporting the trade union campaign for a 35-hour working week? They resolutely reject the attacks by the employers unions and their political lobby in connection with this demand. They support and make widespread the system of arguments developed by the trade unions which show the necessity and

possibility of introducing such a week. Allegations that a 35-hour working week would supposedly be too great a financial burden for employers and that it would lead to an undermining of the competitiveness of the FRG economy and fail to create new work places are wrong, it is stated in the accountability report to the Seventh DKP Congress. The argument that the economy would not tolerate a 35-hour working week fails to stand up to any serious testing. If one presumes (as trade union representatives and economists presenting alternative programs claim) that every second work place of those made available with the introduction of a 35-hour working week were to be once again occupied, then this would mean that 1.5 million unemployed would be given work and the total sum of paid wages would increase by 6 percent. Here one can cite the few figures. Since 1979 labor productivity has grown by 10 percent, but real wages have decreased by 5 percent. Even if a 35-hour working week were to be introduced everywhere, it would not yield half of what major capital has squeezed out of the workers class in the form of additional profits in the last 5 years. Providing work for 1.5 million unemployed, however, would require a minimum of expenditure on the part of the treasury, but would ensure additional revenue on the scale of approximately 45 billion marks. Wages must be fully retained "or else," as it is noted in the congress materials, "a reduction in work time will be nothing other than a limitation of purchasing power, as a result of which unemployment will once again increase."

We resolutely oppose any attempts in our country to set the most important democratic movements of the contemporary period against one another, such as the peace movement and the struggle for a 35-hour working week. These movements are different. One of them is a class movement of the proletariat in defense of social interests; the other is a movement encompassing many social strata which is primarily aimed at achieving disarmament and safeguarding peace. But they are objectively connected. This connection stems from the fact that both movements ultimately have one and the same enemy and are directed against two sides of one and the same aggressive strategy of monopolist capital. Thus any success on the part of one movement improves the prospects of the other. This community of interests emanates not least from the economic link between the arms race and the social policy of reactionary circles and between disarmament and social progress. The DKP congress materials note on this score: "As far as a 35-hour working week with full retention of wages is concerned (from the point of view of the possibilities of it being introduced for society and the state), the conditions can be created now, without disturbing the course of economic life, by cutting down on military expenditure." More fully revealing these mutual connections in both movements is for us, communists, a prime ideological task and a prerequisite of even more successfully uniting the peace movement and the workers movement.

We communists help to spread understanding in the workers class of the sociopolitical significance of the struggle for a 35-hour working week. At the center of this demand lies the task of limiting the manifestation of a basic social evil--mass unemployment. However, this is not the only task. There is also the task of counteracting the pernicious consequences of nervous-physical overloading and the intensification of labor and its antihumane conditions. Those particularly difficult working and social

conditions in which women still find themselves must be eased. A shorter working week would mean greater opportunities for personal and family contact, for a rise in the educational level and for involvement in cultural, trade union and political activities, and also greater scope for developing the personality. Consequently communists state in their program of actions for 1984: "Actions for a reduction in work time must be connected with struggle for more humane working conditions..., for the creation of conditions for organizing leisure and for conditions which correspond to the social and humanist tasks of the workers class." Thus, the struggle for a 35-hour working week is not just a question of protecting oneself against the increasing burdens of crisis, but also of taking further steps in the direction of improving the conditions of work, life and the struggle of the working people.

Communists strive to instill in the workers class the fact that the cause of the growing unemployment and the necessity to fight it by means of reducing work time lies not simply in the absence of opportunity to contribute their labor, but in the absence of opportunity to contribute labor which yields a profit. If the owner of production means under capitalism is not going to receive a profit, then not one worker or employee is going to receive work. The capitalist law of pursuit of gain means that, on the one hand, contemporary production units and equipment remain unused, an increasing number of enterprises are closing down, and the number of people doomed to unemployment is growing, while on the other hand unsatisfied personal and social needs are constantly increasing. Poverty is growing in the rich Federal Republic. The number of people who cannot allow themselves a decent apartment is growing. The contradiction between the social necessity to develop alternative energy and transport systems and to create effective technological processes aimed at protecting the environment and the satisfaction of the working peoples' needs is becoming increasingly obvious. All this attests to the fact that the time has come for the country, to quote the accountability report to the congress, "to make the transition to a new social system which is oriented not to maximum profits, but to the maximum satisfaction of requirements. Socialism is this new social system."

An important idea is contained in the aforementioned speech made by Herbert Mies at a conference on problems of party training: "If there has ever been a moment when our country's communists should wage a propaganda offensive on behalf of socialism, then this moment has come today." Developing this idea, he said further: "The countries of real socialism have now liquidated--and, what is more, liquidated once and for all--such constant flaws of capitalism as mass unemployment, social uncertainty and lack of prospects. Propagandizing this fact is not only important because it proves the correctness of our world outlook and our program. It is primarily important because we thereby show people a real alternative to the historically obsolete capitalist exploitative system. It is not only a question of long-term orientation for the future. It is an important aspect of the task of today--to constantly prompt the broad strata of the workers class to break with the ideology of 'social partnership' and to join in the tasks of the class struggle."

Inasmuch as the causes of unemployment lie in the capitalist system of pursuing profit, unemployment can only be liquidated by overcoming this system. Consequently the introduction of a 35-hour working week can only lessen unemployment. The effectiveness of the struggle depends on the degree to which the struggle for a reduction in work time is connected with the concept of antimonopolist economic policy. One must persistently strive for the effective implementation of the right of the workers class and its trade unions to coparticipate in production management. Only thus is it possible, for example, to ensure that the additional work places resulting from a reduction in work time are really filled. Key branches of the economy must be nationalized under democratic control. It would thereby be possible to create definite opportunities for ensuring that, with the appropriate pressure from the workers and their trade unions, matters at the enterprises are not reduced to the capitalist pursuit of gain, but that social requirements and the considerations of profitability are also taken into account to a certain extent. Further, a struggle must be waged to reorient state economic policy toward a chiefly so-called qualitative growth in the economy. Thus, for example, it would be possible to create new work places in the steel and shipbuilding industries, which have been affected by the crisis, by means of building transport systems or creating technology not detrimental to the environment.

The initial features of this concept have been formulated in the basic program of the German Trade Union Federation and in the resolutions of its latest congresses. Communists have drawn up their own proposals on this matter, which are reflected in the party program and in the accountability report to its Seventh Congress. Of course, nothing is to be expected from the Bonn coalition of right-wing parties' implementation of a similar alternative economic policy. Here it is not enough to even simply return to the former policies of the government, which was headed by Social Democrats. A new economic policy of an alternative nature requires at least antimonopolist changes in the state and in society. We communists have called these changes a turn toward democratic and social progress in our party program. Without change in this direction, Herbert Mies has said on this point, we cannot even contemplate breaking the vicious circles of unemployment, the cutting of social rights and the reduction in real wages. These arguments must be energetically propagandized, even in those cases when, from a practical point of view, their mobilizing effect is initially not very great. These ideological and world outlook "capital investments" by communists in the future are nevertheless necessary. They are necessary to ensure that a stronger desire to orient itself toward socialism arises in the future in the workers class.

It is important to substantively prove to workers and employees themselves, just as it is important to win the support of the population in this, that there are real possibilities of financing a 35-hour working week with full retention of wages. Of course, for the employers and their unions such proof is just so much empty words. As far as they are concerned, a reduction in work time with full retention of wages is a kind of "mortal sin" and an encroachment upon the holiest of holies: profit. Consequently the position of the workers class and its trade unions and the position of employers are irreconcilable. Which of them gains the upper hand depends on the correlation

of forces in the class struggle. Communists remind the workers of the conclusion formulated by Karl Marx and confirmed by the entire course of the class struggle for a reduction in work time, namely: The correlation of forces of the struggling sides is a determining factor in the length of work time. Any reduction in work time is a victory of the political economy of labor over the political economy of capital.

Briefly speaking: communists regard their task in the struggle for a 35-hour working week as being that of helping to propagandize by their own efforts the decisions adopted by the trade unions. At the same time we strive to make as many workers and employees as possible understand the class nature of the absolute power of major capital and the irreconcilability of the interests of labor and capital, and role of the capitalist state, and the necessity for radical social transformations. This must be done by relying on their own experience accumulated in class battles.

In conclusion, it must also be pointed out that, both in the peace movement and in actions by workers, in the ecological movement, in other democratic movements and primarily among young people, communists increasingly come up against world outlook questions in the narrow sense of this word. Everywhere questions are asked about "the meaning of life," "the meaning of work," "the meaning of progress," in short, it is a question of a crisis in the very system of values. Reactionary ideologists try to utilize this situation in their own interests, advance the slogan of "a spiritual turning point," and wage a conservative offensive which pursues the aim of distorting the real meaning of concepts and values. Consequently here communists must act more decisively. Young people must be given well-founded and scientific answers to their questions. A scientific world outlook and the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin equip communists with the necessary means and methods for their work in shaping awareness. This work is required of communists.

It is precisely now, when more than ever before it is becoming obvious that capitalism has outlived itself, that the attractive force of communist policy will be all the greater, the more convincingly communists reveal to the working people the political and world outlook alternatives to contemporary capitalist reality. Convincing as many people as possible of the rightness and justice of communist ideals today really means introducing a scientific world outlook to a political struggle as a powerful spiritual force.

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LENINISM--THE GREAT SCIENCE OF WINNING

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[Review by A. Yegorov of the book "Pod Znamenem Leninizma" [Under the Banner of Leninism]. By M. V. Zimyanin. Selected articles and speeches. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 383 pp].

[Text] It is said that books have their own destiny. This is correct. Equally correct, however, is something else as well: the importance of a book greatly depends on the extent to which it reflects the fate of the people and the ideas it contains. Naturally, it also depends on the personality of the author, his practical experience and his ability profoundly and intelligibly to describe important matters which trigger feelings in the people.

All of this fully applies to the recently published book by M. V. Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary. It covers a period of almost 40 years of the author's life and activities, opening for the readers a broad vista of intensive and purposeful struggle waged by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Leninist party for the triumph of socialist ideals.

These were years saturated with events of historical significance both for our country and all humankind. They included the Great Patriotic War, in the course of which, under the leadership of the communist party, having broken the backbone of the fascist beast, the Soviet people saved human civilization. They also include the period of restoration of the national economy and the heroic accomplishments which led to the building of developed socialism and our contemporary reality.

The entire historical experience of these "splendid and fierce" years is reflected in this book, one way or another, firmly linking the present with the past and the future.

Today, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, has frequently emphasized, the communist party and the Soviet people are resolving problems on an unparalleled scale, utilizing our tremendous possibilities as best, fully and efficiently as possible. They are resolving such problems despite the

difficult international situation which has lately become sharply aggravated by the fault of aggressive imperialist circles, the United States above all.

Briefly stated, both the domestic and the international situation calls for the powerful acceleration of our entire development and for ensuring the planned advancement of Soviet society toward new higher levels.

Based on the historical resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, the author convincingly describes what we must do in the future in this direction by improving social relations in mature socialism and the manner in which our party is enhancing the creative and social activeness of the masses as it follows the way indicated by V. I. Lenin, in pursuit of this lofty objective.

The work opens with the author's report "Leninism--The Revolutionary Banner of Our Epoch," which was delivered at the ceremonious session held in Moscow on 22 April 1977. This is no accident, for the entire content of the book has a single topic: the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism as the great science for winning and as a reliable theoretical foundation for CPSU activities and one of the most important prerequisites for the implementation of its leading role in building a socialist and communist society.

In describing the unity and integrity of the scientific outlook of the revolutionary proletariat, the author emphasizes that Marxism and Leninism can neither be separated nor, even less so, pitted one against the other. They form the single Marxist-Leninist science, which profoundly identifies the laws of social development and the vital interests and objectives of the working class and all working people and shows at the only true way to the victory of communism. The author emphatically proves that only socialism, based on the philosophical, economic and sociopolitical principles of Marxism-Leninism as an integral theory from which, as Lenin emphasized, no single basic postulate and no essential feature could be removed without violating objective truth, can be consistently revolutionary and truly scientific. The author attentively analyzes Lenin's contribution to the development of Marxist theory. He pays particular attention to the comprehensive nature of this development: Lenin enriched all structural components of Marxism, which precisely enabled the great leader of the world proletariat to identify the basic laws and trends of social progress in our time, to enhance to the level of theory the global experience of the revolutionary liberation struggle and to define the way for the victorious solution of the problems of the socialist revolution and the building of a new life. That is precisely why Leninism is the Marxism of the contemporary epoch.

"Leninism was born in Russia," the author points out. "It is inseparably related to its revolutionary destinies and the needs and tasks of the struggle waged by the Russian proletariat and the heroic accomplishments of its Bolshevik Party. Equally unquestionable, however, is the fact that from the very beginning, Leninism was shaped and developed as an essentially international doctrine, based on the summation of the experience of the entire global revolutionary liberation movement" (pp 284-285). Indeed, both theoretical analysis and practical experience irrefutably proved that the basic laws of the revolution and of building a new society, discovered by

Marxism-Leninism, are essentially objective and universally valid. Furthermore, in the course of the building of socialism and broadening the realm of action of socialism in the world arena, this objective and universally significant nature of Marxist-Leninist principles becomes increasingly clear and increasingly asserted, revealing in the variety of the contradictory nature of life the leading trends of the laws governing global developments. "In the course of this...differences in specific conditions prevailing in individual countries and the specific features of their development," the author writes, "create many varieties in the implementation of the basic laws governing the development of socialism" (p 270). In general, the dialectics of the contemporary worker movement is such that, on the one hand, its internationalization becomes increasingly great and, on the other, national features determined by the growing variety of specific conditions become increasingly clear. That is why, Lenin taught, we must study, learn, find, guess and sense the national characteristic, the national specific features in the specific approaches taken by the individual countries to resolving this single international problem" ("Poln. Sобр. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 77).

The art of political leadership lies precisely in the creative application of Marxism-Leninism--the great science of winning--and knowledge of the needs of our epoch, of the conditions prevailing in one country or another and of the various aspects of social life. The communist party which Lenin created and hammered out and which, by the will of history, discovered and pioneered the building of a new society, has mastered this art to a high degree. Wisdom and political maturity, daring and a sober approach and innovativeness, realism, revolutionary scope and practicality are the features of the party of a new type, which, as described by Lenin, arose "on the firmest possible base of Marxist theory" (ibid., p 7).

Taking closely into consideration the specific conditions and the situation in Russia, our party has never limited itself to the lessons drawn from its own development. It has always relied on the entire experience of the universal proletariat, summed up by Marxism-Leninism, tirelessly enriching it. The CPSU has always structured all of its activities on the basis of the general laws governing the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism, on the basis of the inflexible principles of Marxism-Leninism. Hence the universal significance and international importance of its experience.

Naturally, it is not a question of "imposing" the "Soviet model" on anyone, as the bourgeois ideologues claim, but of interpreting and considering the valuable historical experience acquired by the pioneers of socialism and which, properly understood in accordance with specific conditions, could help avoiding errors and lowering the cost of the complex process of building a new life and accelerating progress. Since the problems resolved by the fraternal parties are very similar to those which our party and people had to deal with and since these parties are interested in the creative utilization of CPSU experience, the author emphasizes, "without imposing upon anyone any ready-made prescriptions, we propagandize the history and policy of the CPSU as Marxism-Leninism in action" (p 133).

Loyal to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, our party arose and is developing as a party of internationalists, as an inseparable component of the universal liberation movement of the proletariat and the international communist movement. The author describes the internationalist nature of CPSU activities during the various stages of its history, the loyalty of our party to the great principles of the international solidarity among the fighters against the system of exploitation and oppression and the party's contribution to strengthening the fraternal combat alliance among all anti-imperialist forces at the present stage.

The book convincingly proves that the CPSU represents the organic unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice and that it has won and continues to win through its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, creatively developing it in accordance with new historical experience. The greatness of Leninism, the book states, is precisely that it is "an eternally living and developing theory to which revolutionism, a scientific spirit and a specific historical approach, which excludes any whatsoever manifestations of dogmatism and subjectivism, are organically inherent" (pp 219-220). This development, if we mean by this the truly creative enrichment of Marxism-Leninism, can be successfully achieved only on the inviolable base of its essential principles, tested through historical experience, and their intensification on the basis of the collective experience of the masses. It is thus that V. I. Lenin developed the doctrine of K. Marx and F. Engels and it is thus that today as well all Marxists-Leninists approach problems of the development of scientific communism.

The purposeful streamlined concept of developed socialism, enriched on the basis of practical experience, developed by the CPSU, is a clear example of the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory under contemporary conditions, and the foundation for the political course charted by the USSR for the immediate and more distant future.

Naturally, the author has paid great attention to the concept of developed socialism, for it occupies an important position in the theory of scientific communism, is the center of the ideological struggle currently taking place in the international arena and, finally, because, being at the start of developed socialism as a historically lengthy stage, the Soviet people are resolving qualitatively new, major and difficult problems pertaining, in terms of their origin and nature, to the first phase of the communist socioeconomic system.

On the basis of the facts of life and the strict analysis of reality in its complex and dialectically conflicting development, the author convincingly proves that developed socialism means, first of all, the advent of a period of high maturity of socialist production forces and production relations and sociopolitical, scientific and technical and spiritual processes. Secondly, it is an integral social system which is developing on its own base in accordance with the general laws of socialism and which has a certain qualitative determination. Thirdly, real socialism, particularly at its stage of maturity, has successfully resolved in the interest of the working people--which is its greatest contribution to the history of humankind--problems which capitalism is unable to resolve. It has created a dynamic economy, free from crises and unemployment, oriented toward the steady enhancement of the well-

being of the people. It has created a true democracy which guarantees, not in words but in actions, basic human rights and the just solution of the national problem. It has achieved universal free education and health care and created a progressive science serving the people and our internationalist developed multinational culture. That is why the stage of developed socialism is the highest present stage of social progress. We have something to be proud of as we look back.

Everything accomplished by the Soviet people in erecting the grandiose building of the new socialist society was achieved thanks to the unification of their efforts by the Leninist party--the tested and universally acknowledged leader and organizer of the victories of our people. Such was the case during the first years of the Soviet system, during the first five-year plans, the fiery years of the Great Patriotic War and all subsequent stages in the development of Soviet society.

During the Patriotic War, CPSU policy, based on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism, linked together the front and the rear and the army and the Soviet people. The party formulated a scientific program for the defeat of the aggressor and armed with it its soldiers and the toiling masses. Under its leadership a mass conscious heroism developed in our country, encompassing the front, the rear and the temporarily occupied areas.

During that period, M. V. Zimyanin was first secretary of the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee, a direct participant and one of the leaders of the partisan movement behind enemy lines. Quite understandably, therefore, large sections of his book deal with those days of unfading memory, in summing up the experience of guerrilla warfare against the German-fascist aggressors, which became a structural component of the Great Patriotic War. The author comprehensively describes the heroic struggle which the Soviet patriots waged behind enemy lines: the activities of the party underground, the process of the organization of partisan detachments, the political, intelligence and sabotage operations by clandestine party and Komsomol groups in towns and villages, the combat operations of the partisans and their interaction with Red Army forces, etc. He convincingly describes the stages, features and motive forces of this struggle. He proves that the struggle was national in character, based on the life-bringing Soviet patriotism, and that it was the communist party which inspired and organized it. It was precisely its leadership, the author emphasizes, that was the basic source of strength and successes achieved by the Red Army and in the struggle waged by the Soviet people behind enemy lines.

The author sums up the experience of party work during the period of restoration of the national economy dislocated by the war. He depicts the heroic exploits of the Soviet people who, within an extremely short time, were able to surmount the heavy consequences of the war and to ensure the powerful upsurge of the socialist economy, science and culture.

The author focuses his main attention on the role of the subjective factor in the course of the forward progress achieved by Soviet society, naturally, as inseparably linked with objective conditions which determine the activities of the party and the people's masses it leads. The work focuses on the problem

of the growth of the leading role of the CPSU under contemporary conditions. It is considered as the most important objective law in building socialism and communism, directly related to the strengthened role of the subjective factor--the increased degree of consciousness, education and sociopolitical activeness of the masses and the growing scale, complexity and responsibility of the tasks of building a new society. The author proceeds from the fact that, first of all, the internal laws governing CPSU development reflect the laws of social reality and are governed by them. Secondly, aware of such objective laws, the party formulates its own domestic and foreign policy, the firm foundations of Marxist-Leninist science and with a clear understanding of the trends of Soviet social progress and global developments.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasizes that the CPSU is the vanguard of the entire people. However, in terms of its class nature, programmatic targets, ideology and policies and the role which the workers play in it, it was and remains the party of the working class, loyal to the great traditions of bolshevism. This, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at his meeting with the workers of the Serp i Molot Metallurgical Plant in Moscow, "ensures revolutionary continuity in its activities and a strictly preserved class-oriented domestic and foreign policy. It is a guarantee for the success of the tremendous work which we describe as the advancement of developed socialism."

The author proves that throughout the building of socialism, the CPSU has defined the general line and prospects for the development of our society, the ways of its ascending movement and, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and following its principles, promoted the implementation of assignments by developing the social activeness of the masses in all areas of social life. There have never been areas in our life in which the guiding influence of the party has not been felt and where it has not been a prerequisite and a guarantee for the successful activities of the masses and of all state and public organizations. This legitimizes the author's conclusion that "the solution of all problems which arise in the course of building the new society during the transitional period and the period of development of mature socialism, exceptionally depends on the ability of the ruling communist party closely to listen to the voice of the masses and persistently to struggle against manifestations of dogmatism and voluntarism and to intensify socialist democracy, pursue a weighed realistic policy, strengthen unity and cooperation with fraternal socialist countries and firmly rebuff any imperialist attempt at interfering in their domestic affairs" (pp 288-289).

The formulation of a correct political line at each stage of our social development, a line which organically combines the solution of vital current problems with the implementation of long-term assignments, is a matter of prime importance. No less important, however, is the successful, systematic and steadfast implementation of this line, organizing the masses for the conscious elimination of vital contradictions and difficulties, raising them in a spirit of Marxist-Leninist realism and intolerance of shortcomings, sluggishness and inertia and in a spirit of active and purposeful struggle for the assertion of everything new and progressive born in the course of building socialism and communism. Here we face the full problems related to the ways and means of party work consistent with the stages of the socioeconomic maturity reached by Soviet society and its socioclass structure.

The author proves that under mature socialist conditions, as it provides political guidance to society, the CPSU itself develops in the course of the increased social activeness of the masses and the new requirements of our reality, improving its qualitative structure, democratic centralism and other principles of intraparty life. It is thus that the CPSU rises high the title of party member and exerts an ever growing influence on the entire system of economic, political, socioclass and national relations and on the activities of all state and public organizations and labor collectives, including the most basic cells of our social economic structure--the shop, brigade, livestock farm, etc., as it strengthens its ties with the toiling masses.

The increased combat capability of the part and its influence on social developments and on the masses tremendously depend on further improvements in the style of party work and the choice and placement of cadres, based on their ideological-political, moral and practical qualities. This is the crux of the matter today. Recently, after discussing the suggestions of K. U. Chernenko on problems of contemporary cadre policy, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted that the party committees must "persistently see to it that all sectors of economic and cultural construction be headed by politically mature and suitably knowledgeable managers possessing high moral qualities, enjoying a good reputation among the masses and having the ability successfully to implement the party's policy."

The CPSU proceeds from the fact that along with the growth of the tasks and scales of the revolutionary-transforming activities of the party and the people, increasingly broad masses are becoming involved in this historical process, thus increasing the requirements concerning their upbringing in a communist spirit and their high conscientiousness, organization and discipline.

In this connection, the author pays particular attention to the topical problems of CPSU ideological work. This work is analyzed in terms of the ideological confrontation with imperialism and on the level of implementing the task of advancing developed socialism. "The ever-expanding scale and complexity of the constructive activities of our party and people, carried out under the conditions of the aggravated ideological and political struggle in the international arena," the author writes, "enhance the role of ideological work as one of the most important structural components of communist construction" (p 320).

No compromises or peaceful coexistence are possible in the tense struggle waged by world socialism and the international communist movement against bourgeois ideology, for the basic interests of the working class and the bourgeoisie conflict and, therefore, are irreconcilable. We must distinguish between this honest and open ideological struggle, which cannot be an obstacle to extensive economic and cultural cooperation among nations in the interest of social progress, and ideological subversion, which is on the same level as political and military imperialist subversion. Its purpose is to aggravate the international situation, wreck peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and be used for purposes of intervening in the

domestic affairs of countries and peoples, leading to political and military confrontation and its intensification.

The ideological struggle we are waging in the international arena must be energetically aggressive. The author says that in this struggle "our strongest weapon is the weapon of truth and the justice of the ideas of scientific socialism and communism, inseparably linked with the ideas of peace and friendship among nations" (p 83).

Therefore, in the course of the ideological struggle the task is to inflict a crushing rebuff to hostile subversion, to expose and block the intrigues of imperialist forces, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and, linking this with criticism of the system of capitalist exploitation and, while exposing the concepts of the defenders of imperialist reaction, to attack bourgeois ideology and propaganda on its own bridgehead, awakening and developing the revolutionary consciousness of the people's masses enslaved by capitalism.

Today this double task becomes particularly relevant, for U.S. imperialism is organizing a "crusade" against communism and all forces of peace, democracy and social progress and because ever new toiling strata, including those which may not be free from one illusion, error or hesitation or another, are becoming involved and will continue to be involved in the global revolutionary process. As we know, imperialist reaction is trying to revive and inflate petit bourgeois prejudices. It takes up the defense of such prejudices in order to undermine the ideology and policy of proletarian internationalism and the unity of anti-imperialist forces.

Taking all of this into consideration, the author describes the meaning and significance of proletarian internationalism under contemporary conditions. He proves that the intensification of the general democratic struggle against imperialism does not reduce but, conversely, reveals even more vividly its class-oriented anticapitalist content and imposes upon the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties even greater responsibility in the contemporary world, for they were and remain the main cementing force of the global revolutionary process and the anti-imperialist front in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. He emphasizes that "from the birth of scientific communism and the founding of its mass political parties, the working class became the most irreconcilable and consistent fighter against wars unleashed by the bourgeoisie" (p 106).

The author discusses in detail the foreign policy of our party, its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo and the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state aimed at strengthening peace and implementing the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. He describes the way our party and Soviet state are countering the efforts of imperialist forces, headed by the United States, to lead the world into nuclear war and turn back the course of history. He proves that the sympathy and support of all peace-loving forces and all progressive people on earth are on the side of the Soviet Union in this noble and just struggle.

Socialism has firmly linked the fate of every Soviet person with the great destiny of our country, the world commonwealth of socialist states, the

international working class and all progressive mankind. That is why the historical example of socialism and its experience play a powerful role in the ideological struggle in the international arena, arming all fighters against exploitation and violence with energy and purposefulness.

Life convincingly proves that today the ideological struggle against imperialism cannot be waged successfully without relying on the historical experience of real socialism, interpreting its universal historical significance, identifying and propagandizing its advantages and the typical features of the socialist way of life, and its inherent principles of social justice and real humanism. As the author notes, "today the center of the ideological confrontation is held by problems which were first raised by real socialism: social justice and political democracy, social liberation and the spiritual emancipation of mankind, use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the interests of toiling humankind, elimination of all forms of national and racial oppression and saving the planet from the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe" (p 246).

All of this is of great importance to the Soviet people as well, for awareness of the historical advantages of the new truly people's system ennobles the Soviet person, developing in him the legitimate pride of the patriot and the internationalist.

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum was an important landmark in party ideological activities. It directed all party units toward strengthening their ties with life and increasing the effectiveness of their influence on the socioeconomic and political development of the country, indicating the means for achieving an upsurge in all this work and raising it to a qualitatively new and higher stage. The program of action earmarked by the plenum is being successfully implemented. Naturally, however, this is merely the beginning. A great deal of work remains to be done for the content and forms of ideological activity to become fully consistent with the requirements of developed socialist society and the tasks related to its all-round planned advancement.

The author proves that economic upsurge was and remains the decisive trend to be followed in all work for improving developed socialism, for it is the material foundation for the social and spiritual progress of our country and for strengthening its security and international prestige. Economic progress, in turn, is related to scientific and technical, sociopolitical and spiritual progress. This dialectical interconnection, the author points out, is clearly manifested in the fact that "production intensification and a turn toward efficiency and quality greatly depend on ideological-political consciousness and the political competence and moral-psychological qualities of workers, kolkhoz members, technicians, engineers and scientists" (p 232).

Such intensification of the role of the subjective factor in the country's socioeconomic development is legitimate, for the advantages of socialism are realized not automatically and independently of the will of the people, but in the course of their active and purposeful activities. The situation is as follows: socialist production relations offer an objectively limitless scope for the development of production forces and scientific progress; in turn,

they demand of all Soviet people high consciousness, extensive organization and profound understanding of the national, the state interests by one and all. That is why the main trend of all party political education today is to harness the labor energy of the masses for the implementation of CPSU economic policy and to develop in the Soviet people social qualities such as industriousness, feeling of responsibility, thrifty attitude toward the public good and the ability to make full and expedient use of everything at the disposal of the country; they must creatively approach the solution of ripe socioeconomic problems. "It is particularly important today to support forms of mass political work which, actively penetrating the economy, encourage the people to work better...." (p 256).

The author considers a very important problem: the need accurately to test our ideological-political concepts against the real possibilities of society without alienating ourselves from reality. In describing the tremendous accomplishments of socialism in all areas, in our ideological work, the author writes, we must "soberly consider matters. We must depict life as it is, including its objective contradictions, growth difficulties, errors and unfinished projects. We must extensively develop the struggle against negative phenomena such as egotism, philistinism, grubhiness, bureaucracy, indifference toward the concerns and activities of the people, drunkenness, parasitism, bribery and various types of delinquencies and all types of antisocial acts" (p 239).

A realistic approach to vital problems is necessary simply because sensible needs and interests and the ability to correlate demands of society and with one's personal labor contribution must be shaped in the person from his very first conscious steps. Insufficient attention toward shaping sensible needs and developing a consumerist standard and encouraging objectives and tasks unrealistic at the given stage may create among insufficiently conscious people excessive demands toward life and feelings of dependence, the surmounting of which requires a great deal of effort and time and is accomplished at a considerable social cost.

Based on the fact that today socialist progress is inconceivable without a significant upsurge in the material and spiritual standards of the people, their creative attitude toward labor and active participation in all fields of social life, the author describes the intensive and comprehensive efforts of the CPSU to educate the masses in a communist spirit, and the complex approach adopted for such work. He describes the way our party is promoting unity among ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic activities, showing in all sectors and all realms of life daily concern for the well-being of the Soviet people and specific care for the individual. He also discusses the forms of all-round and harmonious development of the individual, inherent in the contemporary stage.

The author pays great attention to the problems of higher and secondary schools and the training and upbringing of the young and growing generations, particularly in connection with the current general education and vocational school reform. He proves that this reform, as an inseparable part of the advancement of our society and its further progress toward communism, is comprehensive. It is aimed at developing in the young people a dialectical

materialistic view of the world and a class approach to the evaluation of events; it promotes the raising of politically and morally firm citizens of the socialist society, patriots and internationalists, and convinced and loyal defenders of the homeland. At the same time, the most important aspect of the reform is to develop the conscious need to work for the good of society and to acquire practical training for socially useful labor. This makes education work aimed at surmounting feelings of dependence and consumerism and disrespect for labor, shown by some youths particularly important.

The author combines the study of tasks and content of party ideological education with a consideration of the ways, means and methods of propaganda and agitation. This applies above all to the press. Naturally, this is not only because he has dedicated long years of work in this area (he was PRAVDA editor in chief from 1965 to 1976). What matters most is that the press is a powerful weapon in CPSU political education activities and in the ideological struggle against the capitalist world. Our party press embodies the best traditions developed by the party: Marxist-Leninist idea-mindedness, party principle-mindedness, irreconcilability toward ideology hostile to the working class, a militant revolutionary spirit, internationalism, truthfulness, and orientation toward the people and the masses. In addressing itself to the masses, it enhances their consciousness and energy to the level of the historical tasks resolved by the party. It is also a mass rostrum of public opinion by expressing the interests and expectations of the working people. All of this enables the party to feel the pulsebeat of life, check the efficiency of implemented measures, identify positive experience and shortcomings and organize the masses in surmounting difficulties.

The CPSU pays tireless attention to the development of the social sciences and to strengthening their ties with the practice of building socialism.

Our social scientists, the author notes, have accomplished substantial achievements. Unresolved problems and lagging sectors remain, however. This applies to the utilization of the achievements of the social sciences in social practice, the effectiveness and results of scientific developments and the ratio maintained between basic and applied research.

The most promising are comprehensive developments based on a profound Marxist-Leninist study of reality, providing efficient solutions to major social problems. The point is, the author writes, that any separate and strictly specialized study unrelated to the overall and comprehensive study of problems, may turn out unsubstantial and useless (see pp 163-164).

Works of literature and art are a powerful and a very fine tool for the education of the masses. They could affect aspects of the human soul which would not respond to any other influence. Hence the strict requirements which the party formulates toward the creators of artistic values. It is the unbreakable link between literature and art and the revolutionary transforming activities of the party and the people that determine above all their ability to depict and reproduce in artistic characters the essential aspects of reality from the positions of the socialist and communist socioesthetic ideal, to become part of its development trend and to create, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at the anniversary plenum of the board of the USSR Writers'

Union, "truthful and rich characters of people infinitely loyal to the nation and socialism, embodying the heroics of building the new world."

Soviet art, which is inseparably related to the party and the life of the people, is making an increasingly substantial contribution to the general party and nationwide cause of building a communist society, as noted in party documents. "The real accomplishments of Soviet art," the author says, "directly depend on the consistency with which it proceeds from basic principles such as party- and national-mindedness, and a class-oriented approach to the assessment of reality. Inaccurate ideological emphases and a superficial or one-sided interpretation of social processes can only harm the artist's creativity" (p 242-243).

In implementing the basic principles of scientific communism, the CPSU profoundly summarizes the new processes and phenomena in life. It interprets their dialectical interconnection with profound laws of social life, discovered by the Marxist-Leninist classics, and creatively promotes Marxist-Leninist science. It comprehensively enhances requirements concerning the ideological and theoretical arming of cadres and their Marxist-Leninist education.

Our party deems it its task to enhance the consciousness of the masses to the level of the ideology of scientific communism and the Marxist-Leninist outlook. As the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, it comprehensively brings to light the leading trends of social development. It equips the masses with a clear program for action in all areas of social life.

The strength of the Soviet people rests in the leadership of the Leninist party and the strength of our party rests on its inseparable ties with the masses and its loyal service to the interests of the people and the cause of peace and communism.

On the eve of the Great October Revolution, instilling in the party and the masses the confidence that the Soviet system will be strong and invincible, Lenin substantiated this idea by citing the justice of bolshevism. He wrote: "Ideas become a force when they conquer the masses. It is precisely now that the bolsheviks, i.e., the representatives of the revolutionary proletarian international, who have embodied in their policy the idea which is arousing the huge masses of working people throughout the world" (op. cit., vol 34, p 332).

The Soviet people, guided by the communist party, have maintained through all storms and trials their loyalty to Leninism and to the ideals of socialism and communism. That is why our homeland today is in the vanguard of the struggle waged by all progressive forces on earth for peace, social progress, the happiness of all peoples on earth and true humanism.

After reading this book and considering its ideas, let us note some of its characteristic features.

They are, above all, the topical nature of articles written many years ago. This relevance is based on the fact that the author has always aspired to

interpret on a Marxist-Leninist basis the profound processes and trends of reality. That is why ideas expressed by him a long time ago have retained their significance.

The author has adopted a comprehensive approach to interpreting the problem of the ideological struggle and party ideological educational work, combined with domestic and international aspects and with resolving problems of the country's economic and sociopolitical development.

That is precisely why this book will be of great help to the party aktiv and will be read by the broadest possible circles with interest and profit.

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ART AND MYTHS OF THE BOURGEOIS WORLD

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[Review by N. Sibiryakov of the following books: (1) "V Ritme Vremeni" [In Rhythm With the Times] by V. Baskakov. The cinematographic process today. Moscow, 1983, 335 pp; (2) "Chelovek i Mif" [The Person and the Myth] by G. Kapralov. The development of the character in Western cinema (1965-1980). Moscow, 1984, 397 pp; (3) "Mif o Smerti Iskusstva" [The Myth of the Death of Art] by V. Arslanov. The aesthetic ideas of the Frankfurt School from Benjamin to the "New Left." Moscow, 1983, 327 pp]

[Text] The mass information media, art and literature are being assigned an increasing role in the sharp ideological confrontation which has developed in the world. As was emphasized at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the future of mankind largely depends on the outcome of the struggle for the minds and hearts of billions of people on earth.

These new books by three Soviet authors, published by Izdatel'stvo Iskusstvo, analyze the processes and phenomena of the ideological struggle in the realm of art, cinematography and aesthetics in particular.

In developing and intensifying the problems discussed in previous works ("Spor Prodolzhayetsya" [The Debate Goes On], "Ekran i Vremya" [The Screen and the Times] and "Protivorechivyy Ekran" [The Conflicting Screen]), V. Baskakov depicts against the background of the confrontation between the forces of imperialism and socialism, the complex picture of contemporary bourgeois cinematography and discusses problems which face cinematographers in countries which recently gained their independence. "The motion picture," he writes, "reflects and expresses the spiritual climate of the life of the people and the nature and essence of social life perhaps more clearly than any other art, above all because of its mass nature, multiplied today by television" (p 6). Indeed, cinematography, which is highly affected by the the impact of ideological and political processes, is also a battlefield between two conflicting outlooks. The universal nature of the problems discussed in the book have required of the researcher to identify and assess the main strategic lines followed in the development of cinematography within a broad sociopolitical and sociocultural context. The author resolves these problems above all with the help of an accurate methodological analysis, guided by the

Leninist theory of the two cultures within each national culture in bourgeois society.

G. Kapralov concentrates on cinematography in the developed capitalist countries between 1965 and 1980, a period saturated with political and artistic events, ranging from situations which developed after the collapse of neorealism, through the "New Left" wave in the Western countries, to contemporary neoconservatism. The evolution of characters in the Western motion picture is studied by the author on the basis of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist concept of the social nature of man. Thus, he describes the student movements of the 1960s and 1970s in terms of some of the social upheavals which contributed to the discovery of the viability of trends related to democracy and realism, on the one hand, and the reactionary trends in Western art, on the other.

In his book V. Arslanov provides a critical description of the appearance, development and crisis of the aesthetics of the Frankfurt School--the "neo-Marxist" trend in contemporary bourgeois philosophy, represented by V. Benjamin, Th. Adorno and H. Marcuse, who had a tremendous impact on shaping the outlook of the rebellious students and the "counterculture" they created. In arguing with the theoreticians of the "counterculture," the author analyzes the socioeconomic situation which brought to life new forms of capitalist contradictions and determined the appearance of new myths in bourgeois consciousness, including that of the allegedly inevitable death of art. The concept of the "death of art" is a manifestation of the hostility of the capitalist system to artistic creativity. However, the bourgeois ideologues, who preach such apocalyptic "theories," mean essentially nothing but classical (read realistic) art, which allegedly has outlived its century and should yield to more "contemporary" forms. The concept of the "death of art" serves the objectives of the struggle against realism and is used to promote the so-called avant-gardism and various forms of modernism. The crisis of spiritual culture experienced by contemporary bourgeois society is manifested in all such concepts and "theories" as well as in modernism as a whole (cinematography in particular).

That is why these three works supplement each other in developing the common topic of the struggle for a realistic art and for the truthful reflection of reality in contemporary artistic creativity. In their study of the strategy of imperialism in the field of art, the authors single out different and sometimes even seemingly conflicting trends which, in the final account, however, share the same class nature. It is a question, first of all, of the line of seeking increasingly refined means of influencing the minds of the people and new concealed forms of ideological subversion and, secondly, of an openly aggressive line of return to the gross ideological stereotypes of cold war times and frontal methods of anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda. This last trend, V. Baskakov emphasizes, is particularly typical of Western cinematography, aimed at broad circles of frequently undemanding audiences. The muddy waves of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, ideological and moral decay and propaganda of militarism are swamping motion picture audiences.

However, alongside such broad provocations in the spirit of psychological warfare, other, more refined means and methods for influencing the minds of

the people are being developed. Here the seemingly antibourgeois, anarchic and essentially decadent "critical theory" of the Frankfurt School may be considered the standard. We must bear in mind that distinguishing between the progressive and the reactionary is not always simple in this area in which bourgeois ideology operates in an extremely concealed manner. Thus, painting which, in the view of the theoreticians of the Frankfurt School, unlike cinematography, is an art of an exclusively elitist nature, has become in the 20th century a kind of experimental laboratory in which specific models of "nonconformist" awareness are produced. From a means of sensory perception and study of reality, it is turned by the avant-gardists into a variety of irrationalist activity (which also includes a "leftist" variant).

Nor is the question of the criterion of progressiveness and reaction simple and applicable to the "mass" arts. Naturally, the mass nature of one type of art or another is not in itself a feature on the basis of which we define its content and aesthetic quality. V. Baskakov justifiably assumes that in the study of problems relative to the mass nature of art we should rely on the specific historical and socioclass approach. Thus, it is well-known that the mass nature of cinematography--one of the most important components of its effectiveness--could serve the cause of peace and social progress, as confirmed by the practical experience of Soviet and progressive foreign cinematography. However, the "mass nature" of cinematography in bourgeois society is most frequently used as a tool for manipulating the minds of the people. In some cases, the mass nature of cinematography is believed to reveal a specific quality which justifies arbitrary juggling with subjectivistic ideas and ideological structures. In others, the political potential of cinematography, conversely, is related only to decadent studies inaccessible to the broad masses. In both cases, however, we see a rejection of the realistic reproduction of social reality. The clash between Western mass and elitist cinematographers is relative, for their social function remains one and the same. Furthermore, even the very "style" of motion pictures increasingly reveals the direct interweaving of the characteristics of "mass" and "elitist" cultures. This observation, made by V. Baskakov and other researchers at the very beginning of the 1970s and subsequently repeatedly tested on the basis of new ideological and artistic data, is convincingly confirmed in his book. In this case we must also bear in mind that promoting as an alternative to bourgeois "mass culture" an antirealistic platform on the basis of which to this day some "leftist" workers in Western culture continue to operate, and which justifies the various destructive forms of decadent and elitist art, is essentially nothing but a service rendered to bourgeois culture, which makes use of various types of camouflage to strengthen its positions.

On the surface, resolving the problem of classifying art as progressive or reactionary does not appear difficult. Art which struggles for peace and social progress is progressive and art which opposes progressive and antibourgeois contemporary movements is reactionary. However, what are the characteristics which enable us to classify a specific work as antibourgeois and democratic and another as reactionary?

In his search for an answer, V. Baskakov turns to the study of the contemporary cinematographic process, conducted on different levels: through

the identification of "related" problem-topic areas of Western cinematography (the problems of "mass" and "elitist" art; realism and specific features in a cinematographic reproduction of reality; role and place of the motion picture in the ideological struggle and in contemporary political processes and by assessing the meaning and significance of cinematographic trends (political films, "actors' films," neorealism, crime, entertainment movies, etc.). G. Kapralov presents a broad panoramic view of contemporary Western cinema. The author uses a huge volume of specific data. He characterizes individual stylistic trends, film topics and famous and unknown people. His book takes us into the complex and conflicting world of Western cinematography, as represented in the real dynamics of films, the kaleidoscopic nature of cinematographic trends and whimsical fashions. The study and characterization and assessment of these works are provided by G. Kapralov on the basis of correct ideological-aesthetic positions.

Naturally, clarity of views alone is sometimes insufficient for understanding complex phenomena. Such clarity may enable us to make a strict classification of phenomena. However, not all classifications, even those observing all rules of formal logic, can totally clarify this subject. One must have an objective idea of reality, of the processes occurring within it, in order to find the accurate criterion with which to assess works of art.

The criterion used by the authors of the books under review is well-known. It is based on the accurate Marxist-Leninism position. It involves the truthful reflection of reality in realistic artistic characters.

The use of accurate criteria and perfect knowledge of the subject enable the authors to identify the nature of the skillfully camouflaged world of bourgeois culture, for in contemporary Western art, in cinematography in particular, forgeries of realism are quite widespread; realism is quite skillfully imitated compared to truly realistic motion pictures.

Occasionally, the researcher comes across numerous parodies of the truthful representation of reality in art and aesthetics. Such parodies reached their peak toward the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, when student rebellions in the West triggered a certain amount of hope among the intelligentsia but, at the same time, also brought about disappointment in terms of the possible liberation from spiritual and material oppression the means suggested by the "New Left."

In his book, G. Kapralov explains in detail phenomena in Western cinematography which played a specific role in the ideological preparations for student rebellions. The author writes that the topic of lack of communication and total alienation is treated in a variety of ways in the films of Antonioni and Bergman. The rejection of capitalist reality in such motion pictures was combined with hoax. "While presenting some real features of the capitalist world," he goes on to say in the chapter 'Neorealistic Fraternity and Blackout of Feelings,' "Antonioni raises them to the level of metaphysical universality, providing on the surface a seemingly realistic yet hoaxing picture of contemporary reality" (p 43). Antonioni depicts man as a devastated and spiritless being who is also unreachable and irrational and whose inner world has been enciphered. This was a step backward compared with

the neorealistic films which, as G. Kapralov claims, promoted collectivity as the highest morality and as one of the superior values of human life. Conversely, the "counterculture," which was promoted in the course of student movements, proclaimed in an entirely obvious and open manner the nihilistic interpretation of the nature of man. It is true that "counterculture" was introduced in the motion picture to a lesser extent than in the other forms of art. Nevertheless, the student movement, with its strong and weak aspects, had a tremendous impact on cinematography. G. Kapralov correctly states that "in the history of Western cinematography there has never been another such period in which characters have changed so drastically.... The screen presented people whose existence had been ignored by cinematography in the capitalist countries.... Metallurgical workers, miners and construction workers--participants in strikes and demonstrations--showed up. Their lives, working conditions and reasons which led them to join the struggle for their rights, and the dramatic happenstances of class battles were comprehensively analyzed by the cinematographers...." (p 89). At the same time, the left radical protest triggered illusory concepts, which brought about new manipulations on the part of bourgeois ideologues and the creation of new myths. The reason here was the duplicity and contradictoriness of the student protest--features which V. Arslanov studies in his book. The student movement, he writes, was a whole democratic and antibourgeois. However, not being proletarian, it was dominated by petit bourgeois anarchic awareness. It is precisely all of this which led to the restoration of the old bourgeois myths in the new and aggressive "counterculture."

It is important to note at this point that the myth category is used in different manners in contemporary art publications and in actual life. In the history of world culture, myths have played a specific positive role. Unlike ancient mythology, however, today's bourgeois ideologues, particularly the defenders of the most reactionary imperialist forces, are creating a "new" mythology, the purpose of which is to strengthen bourgeois illusions. The leaders of fascist Germany described it as the myth of the 20th century; the myths of contemporary imperialists are concepts such as the "American way of life," "people's capitalism," "a world of democracy and freedom," applicable to that same United States, the myth of the "Soviet menace," and so on and so forth. These and similar myths penetrate the arts, cinematography above all. On the screen they play a twin role: on the one hand, they reflect, although distortedly, the realities of capitalist society; on the other, they contribute to the spiritual decay and the promotion of ghosts in the bourgeois mind, the suppression of the social activeness in the person, etc. The "mass culture" industry has developed an entire series of cliches and art surrogates which, while "entertaining" the people, remove from their minds all traces of the truth and the accurate reflection of reality and instill the myths designed by its ideologues.

In Western cinematography "myth-making" is most frequently opposed to the truth of life and realism. It not only performs a social-apologetic function but also leads to the destruction of art. Such "myth-making" is a characteristic feature of the spiritual culture of bourgeois society.

As though developing this idea in his work, G. Kapralov writes that the society of state-monopoly capitalism needs myths for the sake of its self-

preservation. "...Paradoxical though this might seem on the surface, in the age of the scientific and technical revolution, the ever-new victories achieved by the human mind over the forces of nature and the increasing penetration into its secrets, particularly favorable prerequisites are created in capitalist society for all sorts of illusions and irrationalities in all their manifestations" (p 167). The Frankfurt School, which has influenced Western intelligentsia, including the leftist student movement, is distinguished by a strange interweaving of irrationalism with dogmatism. One of the reasons for this influence is that the irrationalist conclusions of its representatives were based on arguments which gave the impression of accurate, new and original socioeconomic analyses of contemporary capitalism. The Frankfurt criticism, however, is pseudocritical, for it fails to reject the basic socioeconomic foundations of bourgeois society. "The 'critical theory' of society provided by the Frankfurt School," writes V. Arslanov, "cannot be classified as ordinary dogmatism, be it dogmatized Marxism or bourgeois technocracy. However, it does not go beyond an eclectic combination of conflicting phenomena. Instead of seeking for a specific solution, the Frankfurt theoreticians limit themselves to the assertion that, on the one hand, modern capitalism is stable and no internal processes could lead it into a crisis; on the other, that contemporary reality is false and catastrophic" (pp 37-38).

The logic of Marcuse, Adorno and Habermas, which V. Arslanov analyzes in detail, is the following, in its general features: contemporary bourgeois society is economically stable. It has surmounted the basic contradictions of the capitalist production method and no real trends are threatening its existence any longer. However, "late capitalism" has brought man to a condition of spiritual degradation, converting him into a "one-dimensional" consumer. The rational organization of the contemporary capitalist economy becomes a totally irrational social life, from which it follows that contemporary reality is a myth, an irrationality, a catastrophe. By applying this concept of life to art, the Frankfurters believe that if it is to be accurate it should include the concept of catastrophe within itself, and become a self-destructive art.

V. Arslanov proves that such a "political-economic" substantiation of the inevitable death of art as it exists in contemporary society is a gross, a vulgar-sociological parody of the theory of reflection. One social form or another may be catastrophic and senseless, but not reality as a whole, for, in the words of Marx, the mind has always existed although not always in a sensible form. The great artist attains the sense of reality by surmounting its false aspects. Conversely, weak or reactionary art asserts falseness as the meaning of reality.

In order to prove their thesis to the effect that irrational art alone represents the truth of our time, Adorno and Marcuse turn essentially to avant-garde painting, music, literature and the theater, whereas Benjamin seeks it in cinematography. G. Kapralov analyzes in detail contemporary Western motion pictures which assert irrationality and the senselessness of life and the pathological distortion of man as the only truth of reality. Such are, for example, the pictures "Pig" by the French director J. Oustach and J.-M. Barjol (1974) and "Wedding Vase" by the Belgian T. Zeno (1975), a

film which "brings to the screen man as being closer to the pig and puts them in the same 'farm'" (p 170) and who even makes the main character experiment with himself so as to identify himself with the "female character" of the picture. The thought of the similarity between men and pigs also imbues the notorious film "La Grande Bouffe" (directed by M. Ferreri), which describes the way in which four successful and oversated bourgeois, who become ashamed of their lives, commit suicide through...gluttony.

G. Kapralov is unquestionably right when he says that the characters in this film or in the movie "Joe, This Too is America" (directed by D. Evildsen) are entirely consistent with the popular concept of Marcuse's "one-dimensional man." However, no truth can be found in these pictures, for they are the latest product of the myths in contemporary bourgeois society. "Despite the seeming clarity of Ferreri's motion picture," G. Kapralov writes, "...it is essentially made by an indifferent skeptic, who looks impartially at all mankind, identifying it with bourgeois society and believing that man as such cannot change, for he is merely a consumer and nothing else (p 192).

V. Arslanov proves in his book the idea that art, which depicts contemporary man in a single irrationalist-economic dimension, is false. He uses socioeconomic and philosophical-aesthetic arguments to this effect. It is obvious that the creators and admirers of the concept of the "single dimension" follow the apologetic bourgeois theories of the "society of universal prosperity," "consumer society," "post-industrial society," etc., according to which capitalism has put an end to economic crises and has not only postponed its own doom ad infinitum but has also allegedly acquired inexhaustible opportunities for feeding the proletariat and turning it into an animal satisfied with its animal status. The author points out that this bourgeois myth is based on complex economic phenomena, presented in a distorted light in the "theory" of the Frankfurt School.

The temporary economic revival has created the superficial appearance of "prosperity" in society and triggered the myth of the "blossoming" of contemporary capitalism. The economic crises which shook up the bourgeois world in the 1980s convincingly proved the illusory nature of such "prosperity." The student rebellions were precisely a reaction to the contradictions inherent in contemporary capitalism, including the new manifestations of the main one--the contradiction between labor and capital. However, they themselves were conflicting. Their paradoxical nature resided in the fact that in terms of individual forms of manifestation of capitalist sociocultural contradictions, a certain segment of students and intellectuals sometimes proved to be more receptive compared to some proletarian strata, particularly in North America. It was precisely this that was used as a pretext for preaching absolutely groundless views according to which it was not the proletariat but the students who had become the main revolutionary force in the capitalist countries. However, "any attempts at resolving proletarian problems for the proletariat and in the name of the proletariat are fraught with tragic consequences, including those affecting the intelligentsia itself," writes V. Arslanov. "Therefore, even if it outstrips the consciousness of backward worker strata, the revolutionary intelligentsia can move only toward the proletariat. Otherwise, such "outstripping" means

a split between it and the worker movement and its degenerating into sectarianism and fake protest" (p 268).

The fake protest, which reflects the weakest aspects of the student movement, also determined the content of the "counterculture." Nihilism becomes just about the main feature of contemporary bourgeois art, trapping even honest and talented artists, such as Bergman and Antonioni. Under the impression of the student rebellion, Antonioni tries to lift the curtain of "one-dimensionality," as though seeing a new horizon beyond which the existence of man is not so illusory and senseless as he had presented it in earlier movies. In Antonioni's noteworthy films, such as "Zabriskie Point" and, particularly, "Profession: Journalist" some clips and events show a realistic depiction of reality. However, the confused ideological positions of this talented director have led to the fact that he, like Bergman, turns in his latest movies to the old nihilistic reflex, as confirmed by the film "Women's Identification," which G. Kapralov analyzes with irony and sarcasm.

Antonioni's contradictory development indicates that a bourgeois artist as well can approach socialist truth only after surmounting his irrationalist view of reality. This truth is confirmed even more clearly in F. Fellini's films. The thoughts of this major artist are trapped by a number of bourgeois myths, including religion. Although he is a Roman Catholic, however, through the power of his talent he frequently surmounts in his creative searches his own religious prejudices. We find in several of his films strong if not antireligious at least anticlerical trends. In precisely the same way Fellini rejects one of the main myths of the "consumer society." His inflexible inner conviction that man is not "one-dimensional" gives him a tremendous advantage over a number of Western artists and helps him to create real masterpieces. As G. Kapralov aptly proves, in his film "Casanova," Fellini exposes, not directly, but through the entire meaning of his work, the myth of the antibourgeois liberating force of the "sexual revolution" (quite popular not in the least thanks to the theoreticians of the Frankfurt School) in the student movement.

It is precisely Fellini's democratic and humane nature which allows him to perceive people as they are, with their real qualities and weaknesses, rather than through the distorting lens of "one-dimensionality." We find this in his very popular films "Nights in Cabiria," "Marecord," and "Orchestra Rehearsal." Fellini's ability to see the truth rather than the myth is what makes his art realistic. He shows the merciless picture of the "totally mad" and incurably ill bourgeois world, depriving it of its irrationalist mythical cover and indicating a sensible solution to the "agitated mind."

The myths created by the ideologues of the monopoly bourgeoisie, regardless of the left wing-radical garb in which they are clothed, hinder the creation of real works of art. They merely create avant-garde grimaces which, regardless of their entire demonstrative opposition to "mass culture" have a great deal in common with it. G. Kapralov includes in his book extensive data in support of this fact. For example, it is hardly accidental that notorious motion pictures such as "A Clockwork Orange" by S. Kubrick, "Deliverance" by J. Borman and "Straw Dogs" by S. Peckinpah, which carried the Freudian idea of the primeval aggressiveness of man, were made with the help of stage effects

used in horror films or Westerns. The fact that works created with avant-garde means, which related them to "mass art" during the period of student rebellions, frequently carried the flag of antibourgeois protest and were accepted by many of their participants as such, merely confirms the conflicting nature of the student movement itself and its weak aspects. It is very indicative that when the "New Left" movement of the 1970s entered a period of crisis and breakdown, the facilities of the "rebellious cinema" were successfully put in the service of the "neoconservative" ideology without radical changes.

V. Baskakov presents as the true alternative to the destruction of art, which has assumed the dimensions of a catastrophic calamity in the West, the art of socialist realism and the works of artists in the capitalist and young developing countries, who take the positions of realism and humanism. He exposes the attempts of our ideological foes to counter with a variety of quasitheoretical elaborations the art of the socialist countries, describing some of them as allegedly "conformist" and "involved," and others as "nonconformist" and "uninvolved." The bourgeois ideologues extensively propagandize through publications financed by the large monopolies distorted concepts of the nature, history and characteristics of socialist art; efforts are made to impose upon literature and the arts in our country and the other socialist countries bourgeois or revisionist value orientations and to integrate within their own value system the most significant phenomena of socialist culture. In a negative way, this proves that the tremendous contribution which socialism has made to the treasury of universal culture cannot be ignored.

V. Baskakov analyzes the complex status of realism and humanism in cinematography through the example of the national cinematographies of the United States, France, Italy, England and Sweden and the young countries, addressing himself to the works of great artists, such as De Santis, Rossi, Fellini, the brothers Taviani, Pasolini, Fassbinder and others. With the help of numerous facts he proves the way American motion picture monopolies either seize or assume control over national motion picture industries above all in the European capitalist countries. Great national humanistic and realistic traditions may be found here. However, American imperialism tries to impose upon European art the ideological and aesthetic standards of Hollywood. Essentially, it is a question of a real aggression on the screen, the purpose of which is to accustom millions of viewers to the cult of cruelty, violence and distorted eroticism, to develop in the mass consciousness scorn for the destinies of mankind and to instill in the people a feeling of apathy in the face of imperialist actions directed against peace.

The authors of the books under review believe in the rebirth of a realistic and progressive art in the West and in the inevitability of a new upsurge in mass democratic liberation movements. That is why they have paid such close attention to the problem of humanism, the significance of which in social life and art today would be hard to overestimate. In their study of the various aspects of the current ideological confrontation on the foreign screen, they prove that it is developing under the conditions of a progressive spiritual crisis in capitalist society, manifested most strongly in the formulation and interpretation of the humanistic problems which now find themselves on the

front end of the ideological and political struggle between the two radically opposed types of human civilization.

More than half a century ago, the great proletarian writer M. Gorkiy angrily said that "the culture of capitalism is nothing but a system of methods for the physical and moral expansion and consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie over the world and over the people, the treasures of the earth and the energy of nature. The sense of the process of cultural development has never been conceived by the bourgeoisie as the need for the growth of the entire mass of humankind" (M. Gorkiy, "Sobr. Soch." [Collected Works], vol 27, Moscow, 1953, p 303).

The data analyzed and summed up in the works prove that these words, expressed long ago, have not lost their pertinence today. Indeed, the nature of the ideological strategy of capitalism in the area of culture and the arts and in cultural policy is reduced, on the one hand, to the development of an open pseudoculture, with a view to molding the minds of millions of people and, on the other, to support cultural and artistic phenomena which only seem to have an artistic value but in fact hinder the spiritual development "of the entire mass of humankind."

These books, which are a substantial contribution to clarifying a number of complex problems of aesthetics and artistic creativity, convincingly expose the myths used by bourgeois art in an effort to conceal the vices of capitalist society which cannot exist without them.

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[Text] 1. "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK (1898-1986)" [The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums (1898-1986)]. Volume 4. 1924-1929. Ninth expanded and revised edition. A. G. Yegorov and K. M. Bogolyubov general editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 575 pp. Under the supervision of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

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